

ИНСТИТУТ ЗА МАКЕДОНСКИ ЈАЗИК „КРСТЕ МИСИРКОВ“ – СКОПЈЕ  
„KRSTE MISIRKOV“ INSTITUTE OF THE MACEDONIAN LANGUAGE – SKOPJE

Посебни изданија, кн. 11\* Special editions, book 11

# ABOUT THE MACEDONIAN LANGUAGE

SKOPJE  
1978



КАТЕДРА ЗА МАКЕДОНСКИ ЈАЗИК  
И ЈУЖНОСЛОВЕНСКИ ЈАЗИЦИ

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СКОПЈЕ

# ИНСТИТУТ ЗА МАКЕДОНСКИ ЈАЗИК „КРСТЕ МИСИРКОВ“ – СКОПЈЕ „KRSTE MISIRKOV“ INSTITUTE OF THE MACEDONIAN LANGUAGE – SKOPJE

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# ABOUT THE MACEDONIAN LANGUAGE

## SKOPJE



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## Editorial Board

*Todor DIMITROVSKI  
Blaže KONESKI  
Trajko STAMATOSKI*

On the publisher: Trajko Stamatoski, director of the Macedonian Language Institut „Krske Misirkov“  
Reviewer: academician Božidar Vidoeški  
Financed from the Republic Community of Scientific Work, Skopje

Correction: Blagoj Stoičovski \* Printed in „Nova Makedonija“, Skopje  
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Editor-in-Chief: Dennis Stannard, Director of the McGraw-Hill  
Language Center, Katie Kiseleva  
Editorial Director: Barbara Vlachova  
Reviewed from the Republic Committee of Scientific Work, Olomouc

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## ABOUT THE MACEDONIAN LANGUAGE

1. The journal „Bulgarski ezik“ (Bulgarian Language) XXVIII, 1978, vol. 1, pp. 3-43, contains a lengthy article entitled „The unity of the Bulgarian language in the past and today“. This issue of the journal is devoted, as we are informed at the beginning, to the centennial anniversary of the liberation of Bulgaria. One would expect that such a great occasion might be considered as suitable for summarizing the results of Bulgarian linguistics to date. However, the holiday has been presented its tribute in the form of a new campaign against the Macedonian language, new, because there have been several such attacks in the past three decades. The difference consists in the fact that earlier texts bore the signatures of their authors, whereas the present text, doubtlessly to lend it greater weight, is signed collectively by the Bulgarian Language Institute of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences. One can hardly recognize in this troupe even the figure of academician V.I. Georgiev, director of the Center for Linguistics in Sofia and chief editor of „Bulgarski ezik“. This text serves as a linguistic complement to the anti-Macedonian pamphlet published in 1968 by the Historical Institute of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences. The compilation of the more recent text was facilitated by using historical material as presented in the earlier text.

2. One might ask whether there is any need to concern oneself with texts having such clearly political orientations. However unpleasant a task it may be, it seems, however, that there is such a need.

First, when misinformation is spread and repeated, it can always happen that it may be accepted by those who have had no opportunity to avail themselves of more accurate information concerning the subject under discussion. Thus one finds even in otherwise serious sociolinguistic studies the formulation that the Macedonian literary language was created by decree at the end of World War II. As we will see, this is also one of the basic tenets of the text presented to us by the Bulgarian Language Institute, and also of earlier attacks against the Macedonian language. Evidently new efforts must be made to present the relevant historical facts to the scholarly public, especially to those scholars who are not familiar with the Slavic languages.

Second, a text such as that which we are dealing with here has its practical aims. Its claims will be spread and imposed not only by the force of persuasion but also by practical measures, especially in those

countries and centers where Bulgarian political activity has been particularly strong. It is a badly kept secret that for years on end every possible effort has been made on the part of Bulgarian diplomacy in the eastern, and even in other countries, to prevent the publication of translations of Macedonian authors, Macedonian anthologies, Macedonian dictionaries as well as scholarly works which support the existence of an independent Macedonian language. It is a badly kept secret that there have even been instances when an entire printing was bought up in order to prevent the circulation of such publications, and that this brought pressure to bear on the authors. (The attentive reader may find a sufficiently illustrative example of the character of such actions in the letter of V. I. Georgiev to FUEV, The Federalistic Union of European National Groups, which we will discuss later). Such occurrences, it is clear, are not caused by a conviction in the irrefutability of the so-called scholarly arguments. The scholarly arguments are aimed at the uninformed, at those who are not aware that there is such discrimination being practiced today right in the center of Europe against a small nation, its language and its culture, a discrimination which would like to attain the level of an international censorship of the cultural activities of this small country. It was necessary to point out the problematical function of texts such as this one compiled by the Bulgarian Language Institute. With such considerations in mind, we could not pass over it in silence.

3. The text under discussion is remarkable for its theoretical novelty. Whereas earlier texts stressed the purely unitarian idea that there does not exist a Macedonian nation or a Macedonian language, or, in a milder variant, that there has never existed but that it might be possible to create something on the order of a Macedonian nation or a Macedonian literary language, now an effort has been made to present the entire situation as one more case of the existence of a given literary language in several variants. The fact that such cases are found elsewhere is supposed to make this interpretation more attractive and more acceptable, and thus more efficacious in attaining the desired result. The first step is to reduce the status of Macedonian from that of a distinct literary language to that of a variant.

However, one can easily see that the authors of this text are not pleased with the term variant in relation to the Macedonian language. They have evidently realized that the unambiguous use of this term will transform their own literary language into yet another (eastern Bulgarian) variant. Therefore they have attempted to choose some designation that will not give the Macedonian language the same rank as the Bulgarian literary language, which must remain inviolable. This designation is — literary-regional norm. Two such variants are recognized: I. the literary-regional norm of the Bulgarian language in the Banat and II. the literary-regional norm of the Bulgarian language in the Socialist Republic of Macedonia (SRM). Of course the logical difficulties still exist, but we will not bother ourselves with this question any further. The authors did not have sufficient time to think things out in full. Proof of this lack of time is found in the published text itself, altered in several spots, with

additional pages added during the binding of the booklet, pages containing especially important material which evidently had to be approved by some authority (pp. 3-4, 25-26, 33-34). One particularly remarkable footnote on page 5 reads as follows: „Actually the literary norms of the Banat type, which are regional (macrodialectal) forms of the Bulgarian language, are subject matter above all for *Bulgarian dialectology*“. Macedonian is not mentioned explicitly. Is the Macedonian „literary-regional norm“ after all something different from that of the Banat? Is it possible that it can not be treated so easily as a subject „above all“ for Bulgarian dialectology? Why is the difference not stated precisely, if there is one? All these questions remain unanswered. But, considering that the entire text is based on the idea of the equal status of the two „literary-regional norms“, we can only conclude that this footnote refers to Macedonian as well. Thus there is little hope that these „literary-regional norms“ will be considered within the framework of the history of the Bulgarian language. Their place is above all within the framework of Bulgarian dialectology. Thus, by this clever strategem, we are spared the problem of deciding on the status of the Bulgarian literary language, whether it is a „third“ or a „first“ norm. But at the same time it is clear that this new theory, which operates on the idea of variants of literary languages, is actually a return to the unitarian approach, as is, by the way, quite honestly stated in the title of this article.

Neither the approach nor the attitude is the same in relation to the two „literary-regional norms“. The language of the literature of the Banat Bulgarians is presented in the form of a long citation from a book by the late prof. St. Stojkov entitled „Banatski govor“ (The Banat dialect), devoted to its lexicon. There is not even any reaction on the part of the authors to the statement, clearly expressed in the standard orthography of this literary language, that when words can not be created from Bulgarian lexical material they should be „borrowed from the Serbo-Croatian language“ (p. 11). In contrast to this, the energetic hand of the writer of footnotes remarks on p. 41: „The question of Serbization of the literary norm in the Socialist Republic of Macedonia deserves special attention and will not be considered in detail here.“ Actually, the Banat „literary-regional norm“ is being used here only to detract attention from an otherwise obvious attack on the Macedonian language, so that the entire discussion might acquire the appearance of a theoretical contribution to the study of variants of literary languages.

In the introductory section of the survey of the Banat „literary-regional norm“, one is informed that this norm „satisfies literary, religious, social, popular-scientific and other needs“, no matter how „limited its sphere of usage“ (p. 6). Since the same has not been said about the Macedonian language, we will attempt as concisely as possible to review its functions.

In the Constitution of the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRJ), Macedonian has the status of a language of one of the nations included in the federation. All laws and other legal acts passed by the Parliament of the SFRJ and, of course, by the Parliament of the

SRM, must be published in Macedonian. It can be used for debating purposes at all parliamentary levels, in the executive branch, as well as for administrative correspondence, and that not only within the Republic but also in inter-republic communication and in matters relating to the federation. It can be used even in official correspondence between Yugoslavia and other countries: for the writing of international treaties in cases when a Macedonian representative is in charge of the Yugoslavian delegation. The Macedonian language is used in daily newspapers, in a whole series of periodical publications, and for the publication of quite a large volume of original and translated literature in various fields. Macedonian is the language used in broadcasts of Radio-Television Skopje, as well as of a number of local radio stations. Most of the theaters in Skopje and other cities of SRM operate in Macedonian. Lively literary and scientific activity is developing in this language. By the way we should note that Macedonian literature contains texts with regionally marked language (in the Ohrid, Mariovo, and Kumanovo dialects; for the use of dialects in Bulgarian literature see pp. 3-4 in the text under discussion). Macedonian is the language used in the educational system of SRM, from the elementary to the university level. It has been used as a medium of instruction in elementary schools in those eastern European countries which accepted the children of Macedonian emigrants fleeing from the civil war in Greece. Special textbooks and teaching aids were printed in Poland in the Macedonian literary language expressly for this purpose. Macedonian was even studied, admittedly only for a short time and as a result of the Bled treaties of 1947, in the schools of Pirin Macedonia, within the boundaries of the National Republic of Bulgaria, at the same time that a Macedonian theater was operating in Blagoevgrad. Macedonian is a subject for study in a whole series of universities throughout the world. It is used in broadcasts by foreign radio stations (the first such broadcasts were from Moscow at the end of 1944), etc., etc.

It would seem that such a phenomenon would be a bit too much for any dialectology to handle. This list, which is by no means exhaustive, shows that Macedonian functions in every way as a contemporary standard language. The Macedonian literary language is a language of an independent Macedonian nation in the same way that Bulgarian is a literary language of an independent Bulgarian nation.

But despite all this, an attempt has been made to place the literary language of a tiny, self-contained confessional group of Catholic emigrants from Bulgaria to the Banat, at the same level as a contemporary standard language which attained its affirmation through the efforts of a liberation movement during the years of the Second World War. One should also be aware that the above-mentioned Catholic diaspora has rather weak cultural ties with its country of origin. If the need arises for new words, it is not likely to seek them in the Bulgarian literary language, with which it apparently has little acquaintance, but rather in (Serbo-)Croatian, as is consistent with its interest in Catholic religious literature. The unified treatment of such distant phenomena, with the aim

of negating a significant event in the progressive development of the Balkans, is presented by the authors as objective scholarship.

The Macedonian literary language has been formed not on the basis of the „western Bulgarian“ a-dialects, as we read in „Bèlgarski ezik“, but on the basis of the western Macedonian a-dialects (which from the time of K. P. Misirkov have been referred to as the central Macedonian dialects), and has arisen as the result of a great cultural and creative activity on the part of the entire Macedonian nation. K. P. Misirkov points out that the above-mentioned Macedonian dialects represent a sufficiently distinct dialectal type from the neighbouring Slavic languages that they can serve as a basis for the development of a separate literary language, which has in truth come to pass. What does the phenomenon of the Macedonian language have in common with the dialect of Vraca in Bulgaria? It seems more than ludicrous to suggest any such thing.

The existence of two literary languages, Bulgarian and Macedonian, is connected with the formation of two national centers. One must approach the study of this process with great care, and not simply negate it by postulating some sort of irrevocable unity of language and of national consciousness, which has never existed and does not in actual fact exist except in a certain *a priori* theoretical conceptualization. The actual differences in dialects, as well as differences relating to the conditions of national and historical development have led to the creation of the Bulgarian and the Macedonian literary languages as standards for two distinct modern nations. This is a historical result which deserves to be given its proper scholarly recognition, but such treatment is not possible when one takes a purely unitarian ideological approach to the problem. The more „proofs“ are presented, as is the case in the article in „Bèlgarski ezik“, that there has been no independent Macedonian national cultural development during the past two centuries, the farther we are from the requisite clarification of the historical result. One possible escape from this deadend is not to give due credit to historical reality itself, or even to contest it, and instead to accept an already established national myth. It should be clear from what has been said, and will be even more obvious from what follows, that this is exactly what is being done.

4. This point of view has been expressed a number of times as an assertion that the Macedonian literary language is the result of an arbitrary political act. In the text under consideration this is expressed in the formulation, given on p. 4, that we are dealing with a new literary norm which „arose and began to be imposed by the force of a political decree (enacted at a definite locality, the monastery Prohor Pčinski, and on a definite date, August 2, 1944)“.

It is our obligation, in the interest of an insufficiently well informed public (which includes by all means the younger collaborators of the Bulgarian Language Institute), to survey in somewhat more detail the circumstances under which this „political decree“ was enacted, since the authors of the text in „Bèlgarski ezik“ have not seen fit to do so.

On August 2, 1944, there was convened the First Session of ASNOM (Antifascist Assembly for the National Liberation of Macedonia), a body which directly represents the Constituent Assembly of the Macedonian nation. It is composed of 122 elected representatives of the Anti-fascist National Liberation Movement in Macedonia. Despite the difficult conditions during the war and the constant struggle against the occupying forces, among which were included the police and military formations of the Bulgarian *monarchofascist authority* (the term is that of article 1 of the Constitution of the National Republic of Bulgaria of 1947), a specific time and place could still be found for the enactment of decrees which represented the affirmation of the Macedonian state, among which is the Decree for the use of the Macedonian language in the Macedonian state (see the appendices).

Anyone who is in the least bit informed knows that many constitutions throughout the world contain formulations with articles or separate acts of constitutional importance, namely, such decrees on the use of language. In Europe itself such an act was passed in Denmark on March 3, 1948, in connection with the use of the Faroese language. Nobody would dream of claiming that such legal acts signify the „arising“ and start of „imposition“ of given literary languages. They can signify nothing other than the legalization of an already existing situation.

Such was the case with the decree carried out by ASNOM. All decrees of this Assembly are written and all its records are kept in the Macedonian literary language, which was already a fairly well stabilized, though not yet unified literary norm. For decades before the decree of ASNOM the Macedonian language had been developing its literary form, despite official prohibitions, so that it could serve, especially during the years of World War II, as a language with an extensive literary activity in the ranks of the Anti-fascist National Liberation Movement. A continuous antifascist manifesto was being written daily in this still unrecognized language, during the most difficult days of the war. Though used only by a small nation, it served efficiently in the resistance movement against the fascist obscurantism. It was already functioning, and has not the slightest need for „arising“. ASNOM simply declared, at a specific time and in a specific place, and in the presence of a fully formed Macedonian national consciousness, the right of the Macedonian nation to a further free use of its literary language. Nothing arose here which had not already arisen. It is not possible to explain a historical phenomenon as accidental. Only the insufficiently informed can satisfy themselves with such an „explanation“. The First session of ASNOM remains for the Macedonian nation one of the most significant dates in the history of its national liberation. One should treat national anniversaries of liberation, such as that celebrated this year by the National Republic of Bulgaria, with respect, and not with derision, no matter which nation is under discussion.

5. What we have said serves as proof that the history of the Macedonian literary language is sufficiently glorious that it can not be liquidated by attacks below the belt. Materials in the appendices demon-

strate that even in the fascist prisons there were enthusiastic supporters of work on the formation of the Macedonian literary language. And out of due respect to their memories we can not descent to such a low level in our discussion with the Bulgarian Language Institute. We beg forgiveness, but that Institute has not the least right to seek such a privilege for itself.

The position and significance of separate linguistic features in the development of the Slavic, particularly the South Slavic, languages, can always be discussed, and will be discussed, on a purely scholarly level. We ourselves always act in such a manner, whether or not we agree with the conclusions reached by Bulgarian Slavicists. However, especially in the light of the historical facts which we have presented, which in no way place us in a position inferior to that of the Bulgarian Language Institute, it can not be expected that we will allow someone to question our status as a nation and the status of our national literary language. This is not a scholarly discussion, approached in a rational manner, but rather a situation in which an arbitrary impulse is masked as an impassionate scholarly investigation.

Declining to conduct a discussion under such humiliating terms, we will instead show that all the material in this text, both historical and linguistic, bears the distinct stamp of the long outdated genealogical tree theory.

As concerns history, this theory finds a truly grotesque expression in the episode of the settling of the retinue of the Protobulgarian Khan Kuber in the Bitola plain (p. 15). Macedonia can not be imagined without Protobulgarian genes! „Absorbing the already mixed Thracian population, partly Romanized, partly Grecified, – thus speak the authors of the pamphlet – and later the two Protobulgarian groups (one in the northeast, the other in the area of present-day Macedonia, the Slavs became a basic ethnic component of Bulgarian nationality deriving from three areas – Mysia, Thrace and Macedonia...“ (p.16). What a feeling for symmetry! The situation would be comic in itself simply as an illustration of a particular approach to history. It becomes even more so in the light of the real facts. Namely, the historical sources are witness to the fact that Kuber did not come to Macedonia with any Protobulgarian group, but rather with a group of people of varied origin, such as were found under Avar leadership in the Danube area. From the „Miracles of St. Demetrius“, a Byzantine text of the second half of the 7th century, it can be seen that a fair part, and probably the main part of Kuber's retinue consisted of descendants of the Byzantine population which under the earlier Avar-Slav attacks had been led off and settled in the Danube area. Many of them asked of Kuber, after they had been resettled onto the „plain of Keramisia“, to be allowed to remain in their „native cities“, and when he refused, nevertheless „many of those who were Greeks, with their wives and children, began to enter our God-defended city“ (Thessalonika, n.b.) and the city elders immediately sent them with boats to the imperial city“. Further on in the „Miracles“, which are a main source of information about these events, there is a discussion of

the breakup of Kuber's retinue, with which event the whole episode ends (cf. *Byzantine Sources on the History of the Nations of Yugoslavia*, I, ed. Academician Georgije Ostrogorski, Beograd 1955, pp. 211-216). In „Bǎlgarski ezik“ a completely different history is introduced, independent of that presented by the sources. In addition to this there is an equal sign drawn between processes which occurred during different epochs, under differing conditions, with different scope and consequences. This can happen when a textual version is transmitted, without checking, from one nationally oriented text into another. The Proto-bulgars were a Turkish tribe as were the Osmanli Turks. If we are already dealing here with the role of the biologic factor in history, it is truly remarkable how in this respect Kuber's retinue is assigned a greater significance than a nation which ruled the Balkans for five hundred years. However, when one considers things from the viewpoint of the genealogical tree theory it is quite easy to make such sweeping generalizations.

Considering the linguistic side of things, we find similarly grotesque situations. For example, it turns out that the a-dialect of Vraca is the same as the a-dialect of Prilep in the sense of its participation in the formation of a „literary-regional norm“ in SR Macedonia. The reflex *ê* for *o* (*rêka*, *zêb*) „in Radožda and Vevčani by Lake Ohrid is found in the regions of Pomorie and Teteven, and the reflex *o* for *ø* in the Debar area (*zob*, *dob*) is identical with certain Rhodope reflexes and has an isolated character“ (p.31). There is nothing startling seen in the fact that the regions mentioned are hundreds of miles apart, or that the given features play an entirely different role in the phonological systems of the dialects involved. That is important is that it is possible to suggest that it is the same root of a plant which must be responsible for producing the same leaves and flowers. (But how can we reconcile ourselves with the reflex of *o* for *ø* in the Slovene language?)

Let us repeat once again that this discussion was not entered into with the aim of explaining any particular linguistic phenomena. It was only an attempt to show what can happen when one applies a nineteenth century national-romantic theory. Many half-truths are brought together into a monolithic national myth. However, the task of scholarship is not to operate with half-truths but to take into account all of the relevant facts, regardless of how favorable they may be to this myth. One urgent task of slavistics is to carry out a demythologization of certain linguistic features and to create a new terminology, so that we can rationally get to work on the contemporary typological study of the Slavic languages. Once this has been done, one will realize with surprise and horror that a dozens of lexemes have often been manipulated in such a way as to influence the historical consciousness and contemporary development of the Slavic nations.

6. The existence of the Macedonian nation and the Macedonian literary language is apparently hard to take for Bulgarian historical and especially linguistic scholarship. Shortly after the end of the Second World War there were shamefaced attempts to accept reality and to rectify inaccuracies in scholarly analyses of the situation. It seemed promi-

sing that Balkan historiography would find in Bulgarian scholarship a collaborator in the revision of nationalistic prejudices and in the forming of a new conception of the characteristics of the historical process in this part of the world.

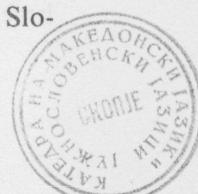
However, this orientation was rapidly abandoned in favor of the old nationalistic approach. It is not difficult to imagine what contradictions this led to within the approaches of one and the same scholars, and what personal traumas they experienced as a result. The entire situation can be considered as a serious crisis in the historical thinking of a given milieu. Let us satisfy ourselves with only a few examples as evidence of this critical situation.

K. Mirčev published in 1945 an article on the Macedonian language in „Dobrovolec“ I, no. 5, March 3, 1945. However, by the year 1952 he appeared as the author of a brochure directed against our language, under the title „Za makedonskija literaturen ezik“ (About the Macedonian Literary Language).

In his textbook „Bəlgarska dialektologija za I kurs na učitelskite instituti“ (Bulgarian Dialectology for the First Year of Pedagogical Institutes) (Sofia, 1955), St. Stojkov devotes a separate chapter to „Macedonian dialects Within the Borders of Bulgaria“ (pp. 61-63). However, in his „Bəlgarska dialektologija“ (Bulgarian Dialectology) of 1962, this section is eliminated without any explanation, as if this were an ordinary minor correction, and the Macedonian dialects are divided among other chapters. All the same, reality is paid its due respect to the extent that in the section „Dialects Outsites the Borders of Bulgaria“ (pp. 112-119) he deals only with the dialects of the Bulgarian emigrants in Rumania and the Soviet Union. Today however, as we had the opportunity to see, prof. Stojkov's study of the Banat dialect is utilized as a launching pad for an attack against the Macedonian language.

I. Lekov includes the Macedonian literary language, with a relevant selection of texts and an accompanying differential Macedonian-Bulgarian dictionary, in his university chrestomathy „Slavjanski tekstove“ (Slavic Texts) (Sofia, 1958). In his „Kratka sravnitelno-istoričeska i tipologičeska gramatika na slavjanski tezici“ (Short Comparative-Historical and Typological Grammar of the Slavic Languages) (Sofia, 1968) he also uses Macedonian material. But this was enough to have his book withdrawn from sale.

In 1955, in textbooks such as “Bəlgarski ezik za pedagogičeskite učilišta za načalni učiteli“ (Bulgarian for Pedagogical Schools for Elementary Teachers), by a group of authors under the editorship of L. Andrejčin, Macedonian was considered as a separate language within the South Slavic group: „South Slavic – Bulgarian, Macedonian, Serbo-Croatian and Slovenian (p. 4); South Slavic languages – Bulgarian, Macedonian (in Yugoslavia and Bulgaria), Serbo-Croatian (in Yugoslavia), Slovenian (in Yugoslavia)“ (p. 474). And in 1965 V. I. Georgiev, admittedly with certain reservations, considered Macedonian as one of the four South Slavic languages. The spot reads as follows: „The South Slavic languages are: Bulgarian, Macedonian, Serbo-Croatian and Slo-



venian... Based on the Macedonian Bulgarian dialects and with a certain influence on the part of the Serbo-Croatian language a fourth South Slavic language is in the process of formation within the borders of Yugoslavian Macedonia – the Macedonian language" (VI. Georgiev and Iv. Duridanov, „Ezikoznanie, učebnik za universiteta“ (Linguistics, a Textbook for Universities) (Sofia, 1965, p. 307). However, we find that shortly after, in 1968, he put out an encyclical in which there is expressed the official Bulgarian viewpoint towards Macedonia and the Macedonian nation. L. Auburger gives us the following information: „According to a letter from the then Vice-president of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences prof. V. Georgiev dated March 28, 1968, to the general secretary of the Federalistic Union of European National Groups (FUEV), the current Bulgarian government (including all dependent institutes) expressed the viewpoint that *Macedonia* etc. is a geographic term, as are *Dobrudža* or *Thrace*, and not an ethnic one: „There live in it Bulgarians, Turks, Greeks and other nationality groups but not any sort of Macedonians. The entire Slavic population in Macedonia, including southern Yugoslavia, is Bulgarian“ (L. Auburger, *Überblick über die äussere Geschichte makedoslavischer Ausbausprachen* (Altkirchenslavisch und moderne makedoslavische Standardsprache). Sprachen und Staaten, Festschrift Heinz Kloss, II, Hamburg 1976, 13, note). Thus the famous classical philologist and Indoeuropeanist has descended to the level of common political activism, when we might have expected him to choose another means of crowning his otherwise brilliant career. Did this letter gain somewhat in authority in that it was sent by a scholar, and not directly by a representative of the Bulgarian government? But despite all this, „Bulgarski ezik“, together with its editor-in-chief, assures us that it assigns „purely linguistic interpretation“ to the facts, „without drawing conclusions of any other nature“ (p. 6).

Such a spiritual climate leads to a certain overcompensation in the form of coarse insults of Macedonian linguists. It is claimed that they „frequently literally“ repeat the „basic positions“ of certain Bulgarian authors (p. 5). We are informed that it is a serious sin to compile bibliographies of works devoted to the Macedonian language, since many of the items were included in earlier Bulgarian bibliographical materials. Proceeding in this fashion, Macedonian linguists would deserve to remain constantly in the pillory, for the simple reason that it is an established practice in Bulgarian linguistic studies to include Macedonian material under the Bulgarian label. By this logic they should be reprimanded for using words of their own mother tongue and examples from texts written in Macedonia in the past. Taken as a whole, this is a manifestation of a strange and unhealthy monopolism which claims under its own all patent foreign linguistic and cultural material, in order to later accuse those working on the cultural history of their own nation and making normal use of such material of improper behavior. It is simply shocking how those who can ignore in silence obvious facts seek to chalk up minor points in the territory of so-called scholarly technique, and that

mainly with no basis for doing so. But we do not wish to overburden our text by negating invectives of this sort.

When insults are hurled, proof should be provided, instead of proceeding merely on the belief the everything will be accepted as God's truth simply because it has been directed against the Macedonians and against the Macedonian intelligence. Academician V. I. Georgiev could have given his pupils an example of the correct form of criticism on his own book „Osnovni problemi na slavjanskata diahronna morfologija“ (Basic Problems of Slavic Diachronic Morphology) (Sofia, 1969), published in „Indogermanische Forschungen“ Bd. 77, Heft 1, 1972, pp. 137-141. In the left-hand column are presented „basic positions“ of great theoretical interest for the development of the morphology of the Slavic languages, in the formulation of V. I. Georgiev. In the right-hand column are presented the same ideas in the formulation of F. V. Mareš. The difference lies only in the fact that Mareš published his text a few years earlier.

The autors of this pamphlet against the Macedonian language are in the habit of using, to their own advantage, certain traditional Slavistic terminology, with new connotations. On page 14, for example, one reads that until the end of the first quarter of the seventh century Slavic tribes of the *Bulgarian group* settled in „Mysia and Dobrudža, the Morava and Timok River vales, Thrace and the Rhodope Mountains, Macedonia, Central and Southern Albania, Epirus“, and that parts of this group „continued to live in the extensive areas north of the Danube“. Of course the term *Bulgarian group* can have only a conditional character since we are dealing here with the period before the arrival of the Protobulgarians in the Balkans. For Šafářík, Miklošič, Jagić, Mazon and others this is a conditional term which might well have been replaced by the more accurate term *southeastern Slavic group*. However, as one can easily note from reading this text, the former term has for its authors a possessive connotation in the sense that it supports a narrowly conceived national program. The footnote on pp. 20-21 is particularly indicative in this respect and deserves to be cited here in full: „In considering the glowing originality of the Bulgarian language among the other Slavic languages, seen clearly on the basis of the indicated features, certain foreign scholars have in recent times used the terms: *East South Slavic dialects*, *Balkan Slavic dialects*, *Slavic dialects in Northern Greece*, *SR Macedonia and NR Bulgaria*, *Bulgaro-Macedonian dialects* etc. With such descriptive terms (which are in actuality incorrect), they refer to the dialects of the entire Bulgarian historical-geographic linguistic areal. In such a manner, although they avoid calling things by their true name, they in fact admit the irreproducible individuality and unity of the Bulgarian language.“ The terminological ploy is quite clear, as it is equally clear why an emotionally marked term is preferred to terms which carry no such marking and which are far more suitable for the purposes of modern linguistic typology. The historical areal is marked on maps, such as is that in the first volume of „Istoriya na bølgarskij ezik“ (History of the Bulgarian Language) by B. Conev (Sofia, 1919), on which maps we find

included also certain Serbian territories which played an important role in the formation of the Serbian nation. Where will such conceptions lead and what can we expect from such arguments, which we might just as well direct in the reverse direction?

Another terminological confusion is the use of the word *Bulgarian* in the Turkish period. For the autors of this text the term automatically implies a high level of Bulgarian national consciousness and a developed sense of the unity of the Bulgarian nation and language. We find in several spots polemics aimed against B. Koneski's „The Macedonian Language in the Development of the Slavic Literary Languages“, but they avoid dealing with one of the basic questions posed in this study: whether such automatism is justified and what was the actual significance of this term at various times and in various places. It is enough to consult certain of the statements of Bulgarian authors of the 19th and early 20th century, presented here in the appendices, to see why they avoid answering these questions. Namely, these statements are witness to the fact that there was by no means a high level of national consciousness, nor such a sense of unity as is postulated in „Bulgarski ezik“. Historical reality makes it possible to explain why two separate nations were created, Bulgarian and Macedonian, with two separate literary languages, Bulgarian and Macedonian.

In the polemics of the authors of this text we find statements about certain cultural-historic phenomena in the Slavic world. Here it immediately becomes clear how unwieldy is their model, which does not allow for borderline cases. They consider Ján Kollár only within the framework of Czech literature (p. 42). One need simply open a history of Slovak literature to realize that he is accorded a significant place there as well. Nor is their categoric conclusion supported by the Soviet literary encyclopedia, where it is stated that Ján Kollár is a Czech and Slovak poet („Kratkaja literaturnaja enciklopedija“ Short Literary Encyclopedia, vol. 3, Moscow 1966, p. 655). There was certainly some reason for such a treatment, if one considers not only language and one's own viewpoint but also the entire cultural-historical context in which a given work arose, as well as its significance in a given milieu. What would otherwise become of the literature of those nations which in the past wrote primarily in a foreign literary language, such as is the case, for example, with the large-scale usage of the Arabic language?

The authors of the text under discussion deny any possibility of comparing the development of the Macedonian literary language with that of the languages of the East Slavic group: „No similarity can be sought between the arisal of the literary norm under discussion (i. e. the Macedonian language, n. b.), and the arisal of the Ukrainian and White Russian literary languages, because, whereas in the East Slavic group a long process of differentiation between the Ukrainian, White Russian, and Russian dialects and between the Ukrainians, White Russians, and Russians created the necessary historical conditions for the formation of three different East Slavic languages, among the Bulgarian Slavs in the 19th century and earlier, one can note no process of differentiation of

the dialects in Mysia, Thrace and Macedonia, nor any movement towards replacing the term Bulgarians with that of Thracians or Macedonians" (p. 42). A „minor detail“ has been omitted in this commentary, namely, that „the long process of differentiation“ in the East Slavic group was not admitted by official scholarship in imperial Russia. Only a change in position, after the October Revolution, led to the acceptance of this process and of its results.

Unfortunately, these anti-Macedonian pamphlets leave little hope that Bulgarian official historic and linguistic scholarship will, taking as its model the example presented earlier, likewise alter its outlook.

## APPENDICES



## APPENDICES

The appendices consist of the following three sections:

**I STATEMENTS.** This section contains citations from various authors dealing with Macedonian language and literature, Macedonian national identity and national relations within the Balkans in the past. Contrary to the title of this book, "Greek" we have before us a number of testimony from various Macedonian individuals, which help us to explain the situation. It is responsible for an independent national identity of the Macedonians and within this framework the creation of a Macedonian literary language. Of course we present here only a few examples. But despite this one is struck by the large number of Macedonians who took into consideration the fact that most of them had lived during that period when the Macedonians did not yet have their own literary center, which might act in opposition to other such centers when they interpreted the Macedonian language in the world in accordance with their own interests.

**II TEXTS FROM THE NATIONAL LIBERATION STRUGGLE.** This section gives us an illustration to be written in the Macedonian language during the years of the Second World War, i.e. during the period when the Macedonian literary language had not yet been definitely finalized.

**III ARTICLES.** This section contains complete texts written by Macedonian authors and dealing with the development of the Macedonian language.

These readers will find further information, especially concerning the period immediately after the end of the Second World War, when resolutions and official acts were issued in Bulgaria favoring the expansion and use of the Macedonian literary language in North Macedonia (within the borders of Bulgaria), are urged to consult a book by Vasil Chavdarov, "Old Bulgarian and New Bulgarian in Their Recognition of Bulgaria" (Skopje, 1970), available also in English and Russian translation.

## INTRODUCTION

The appendices consist of the following three sections:

**I STATEMENTS.** This section contains citations from various authors dealing with Macedonian language and literature, Macedonian nationality, as well as national relations within the Balkans in the past. Contrary to the claims of „Bèlgarski ezik“ we have before us a number of testimonies in support of Macedonian individuality, which help us to explain the conditions and factors responsible for an independent national development in Macedonia and, within this framework, the creation of a separate Macedonian literary language. Of course we present here only certain fragments. But despite this one is struck by the large number of such statements, especially taking into consideration the fact that most of them derive from a period when the Macedonians did not yet have their own governmental and cultural center, which might act in opposition to other such centers when they interpreted the Macedonian situation to the world in accordance with their own interests.

**II TEXTS FROM THE NATIONAL LIBERATION STRUGGLE.** This section gives as an illustration texts written in the Macedonian language during the years of the Second World War, i. e. during the period when the Macedonian literary language had not yet been definitely codified.

**III ARTICLES.** This section contains complete texts, written by Macedonian authors and dealing with the development of the Macedonian language.

Those readers wishing further information, especially concerning the period directly after the end of the Second World War, when resolutions and official acts were passed in Bulgaria favoring the expansion and use of the Macedonian literary language in Pirin Macedonia (within the borders of Bulgaria), are urged to consult a book by Vangá Chashulé, entitled „Od priznavane do negiraúe“ (From Recognition to Repudiation) (Skopje, 1970), available also in English and Russian translation.

## I STATEMENTS

### EDITOR'S COMMENTARY ON THE LANGUAGE OF J. HA-DŽI-KONSTANTINOV DŽINOT

As concerns the language of Mr. Jordan, anyone can see that it is so different from our written and spoken language, so that to a person reading it for the first time it will appear not only incomprehensible but completely different. And in truth his language, even though it appears to be Bulgarian, and its material, like that of our language, is also taken from the Church Slavic literary language, has in its form, nevertheless, that is in the pronunciation of the words and in writing, so many properties and peculiarities that it can more easily be learned and spoken correctly by a foreigner, and not by a native Bulgarian. May the residents of Skopje forgive us, along with those who speak a similar language: since they also do not understand our language, nor can they speak it.

„Bolgarski“ (Bulgarian) in „Carigradski vestnik“ (Istanbul Herald), phototype-edition, No. 55, October 6, 1851, p. 19

### PETKO RAČEV SLAVEJKOV (1827-1895), Bulgarian poet, publicist and politician

Finally the Macedonian question has become public and has appeared in print. We say finally, because this question is nothing new. At first we considered the words of those young patriots (as an expression) of our not very serious quarrels. So we thought until a year or two ago, when renewed discussions with certain Macedonians showed us that we were not dealing here with bare words alone, but with an idea that many would like to see carried out in real life. We listened to such words in sorrow and with pain, but we did not take it upon ourselves to discuss them in print, because the affair seemed to us rather delicate, especially considering the present circumstances. Today this question has already appeared in the marketplace, thanks to the lack of caution of one of our brethren, and we are forced, like it or not, to answer.

On the other hand, we would never have spoken about this matter if it had to do only with the separation of textbooks, because we see no harm in the fact that some people wish their children to study their

father tongue; on the contrary we see in this an indication of coming to awareness. Elementary education is fruitful only when it is carried out in a language which the children understand. Their error is only that they do not choose such a path as will lead not to dialectal division but to unification, agreement...

... But when other goals are taken into account, the goals of breaking up our not yet fully organized nation, then every man is duty-bound to oppose such an evil. It seems that such is the goal of certain of our Macedonian brothers, and that they are disguising this goal behind the veil of language and its dialects; therefore we will take the liberty of saying a few words about the Macedonian question.

We have heard many times from the Macedonists that they are not Bulgarians but Macedonians, descendants of the ancient Macedonians, and we are still waiting for some proof of this...

We have heard other arguments as well. Certain Macedonists consider themselves as separate from the Bulgarians for an other reason, for the reason that they are pure Slavs and the Bulgarians Tatars, and I don't know what else...

In order to add strength to their unfounded argumentation, the Macedonists point out the difference between the Macedonian and upper Bulgarian dialects, of which they claim that the first is closer to the Slavic language, and the second mixed with Tatarisms, etc.

We are certain that the wishes of the Macedonists ought to have other bases, and that we have to do here with the slight inequality between the upper and Macedonian Bulgarians in number and progress. The Macedonists may think that the national affairs will always be under the control of the upper Bulgarians, who are more numerous and more conscious, and that the Macedonians will remain in second place. This is the significance of the Macedonists' slogan: WE HAVE BEEN FREED FROM THE GREEKS? SHOULD WE SUBMIT TO OTHERS?

P. R. Slavejkov, „Makedonskij vopros“ (The Macedonian Question), in „Makedonija“ (Istambul), January 18, 1871

### GORGI PULEVSKI (1838-1894), Macedonian revolutionary and writer

A nation is the term for people who are of one origin and who speak the same language, and who live and associate with each other and who have the same customs and songs and festivals, these people are called a nation and the place where they live is called the fatherland of this nation. Thus the Macedonians are a nation and their home is Macedonia.

G. Pulevski, *Rečnik od tri jezika* (Dictionary in Three Languages) (Beograd, 1875), p. 49

## FROM THE „RULES OF THE MACEDONIAN REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEE“, 1878

Participating in the revolution are people from Macedonia itself, who consider themselves Macedonians and hold dear the freedom of Macedonia (art. 2).

All who desire the wellbeing of the Macedonians from neighbouring and more distant lands may take part in the Macedonian uprising if they submit to the authority of the Macedonian Revolutionary Committee and if they sincerely pledge to support the liberation of Macedonia (art. 4).

The Macedonian Revolutionary Committee will inform the government of the Principality of Bulgaria that the Macedonians will have nothing to do with the Principality, except as concerns the brotherly aid of our Slavic brethren (art. 186).

The Macedonian Revolutionary Committee will be represented in the Principality by our delegates, and the Principality may send its delegates to the Committee (art. 187).

The Macedonian Revolutionary Committee will also acquaint the brotherly Principality of Serbia with the goals of our revolution and will seek brotherly aid in the liberation of Macedonia. If the Serbian prince permits, we will send our delegates to the Principality and the Committee will accept their delegates (art. 191).

The Macedonian Revolutionary Committee orders all Macedonians to carry out the decrees of this set of Regulations, or Constitution, unquestioningly until the liberation of Macedonia and until a peacetime constitution has been passed for autonomous Macedonia (art. 209).

Private library of the Bulgarian patriarch Kiril. Archive division. Item 2341. Archive unit 50, folio 30-61

## MEMORANDUM OF THE TMK (SECRET MACEDONIAN COMMITTEE) TO THE DIPLOMATIC REPRESENTATIVES OF THE GREAT POWERS IN ISTAMBUL, JUNE, 1887

Such a situation can have no other consequences except that the general peace be kept in a state of constant agitation and that our fatherland suffer a catastrophe, -- and to eradicate this situation, it is necessary to paralyze the illusions of the above-mentioned small states, and this can be accomplished only by the Macedonian population itself, which should announce to the world that it is *A SEPARATE NATION, WITH A SEPARATE HISTORY, CHARACTER AND CUSTOMS*, and that it has nothing in common with the surrounding small states, -- *THEREFORE IT FOLLOWS THAT NO-ONE HAS ANY RIGHT TO LAY CLAIM TO MACEDONIA AND IT BELONGS TO THE MACEDONIANS* -- but, in order to attain this, the Macedonian population must be enlightened.

ned, and to set out as soon as possible on that path, it would seem highly necessary to publish here in the capital a „Macedonian Newspaper“ which newspaper we the undersigned have agreed to publish, and we have already handed in a petition to the Great Vizier in which we asked him in the interest of the Ottoman state and the general peace to allow us to publish the above-mentioned newspaper as soon as possible...

Dr. Klime Džambazovski „Neuspel obid za izdavanjeto na „Makedonski List“ vo Carigrad 1887 godina“ (An Unsuccessful Attempt to Publish a „Macedonian Newspaper“ in Istanbul in 1887), *Sovremenost*, XIV (1964), 10, p. 1066

**STOJAN NOVAKOVIĆ (1842-1915), Serbian historian, philologist and politician**

Finally there is one more phenomenon which can not be ignored. This is the aspiration of the Macedonians to remain by themselves, which they are trying to attain in all the above-mentioned ways. And this striving began to be aroused, especially as a result of the contrasts between the Bulgarian and the Macedonian tongues, and between the Bulgarian and the Macedonian characters, since the time when Bulgarian political action began too rashly and sharply to attack the Macedonian features in the name of Pan-Bulgarianism. Even among the salaried teachers of the Bulgarian secondary schools in Macedonia there are found people in whom these aspirations are being aroused in exactly the same way as one sees being done among the Ukrainians against Russian uniformity. One can not overlook or explain away by any sort of simple reasoning the well-known fact that, in the spring of 1885, after the Bulgarian public assemblies about Macedonia, there immediately followed public assemblies of Macedonians in Serbia, in which all Macedonians living in Serbia participated. More forceful movement will illuminate more sharply those tendencies which are now still displaying only the first signs of life.

St. Novaković, „Bugarske škole po Makedoniji“ (Bulgarian Schools in Macedonia), *Otadžbina XIX*, 1888, pp. 78-95; reprinted in *Balkanska pitanja* (Balkan Questions), Beograd, 1906, cf. p. 267

**TEMKO POPOV (1855-1931), Macedonian publicist**

May 9, 1888  
Salonika

My dear Despot,

In the introduction to this letter I will tell you in advance that I will take the trouble to write you, in as far as it is possible, in our tongue,

substituting for those words which I do not know with Bulgarian ones. What else can be done, Despot! This tongue of ours, which could have dictated to the other Slavic tongues, has remained the poorest, and, like a beggar, must stretch out its hand to the Bulgarian, or the Serbian or even the Russian tongue! I do not deny that all of the Slavic tongues are similar to each other and that it is natural that they should borrow from each other, but not to the state\* to which our miserable tongue has come, so that a man can not express his thoughts without using Bulgarian words, if he *has lived* in Bulgaria, Serbian – if in Serbia. It is true that our tongue, being most similar to Serbian, should gather from it those words which it does not have in its own dictionary, but where is our dictionary, where are our philologists, who might concern themselves with these important questions, i. e. the compilation of a grammar and other most urgently needed textbooks, at least for elementary schools? If we have no philologists, where are the Serbian ones, who might know our tongue and might write those elementary and necessary books with such impassionate scholarship as to use Serbian words as supplementary words only where they can not find Macedonian ones, and not to be led by blind patriotism and instead of writing Macedonian textbooks, writing purely Serbian ones. Don't fool yourself, Despot, the national spirit in Macedonia has attained such a state that Jesus Christ himself, if he were to descend from heaven, could not convince a Macedonian that he is a Bulgarian or a Serb, except for those Macedonians in whom Bulgarian propaganda has already taken root.

Fragment of a letter from Temko Popov to Despot Badžović, well-known Macedonian social worker. Published by K. Džambazovski in „Nova Makedonija“ (New Macedonia), Jan. 1-3, 1960

PETAR DRAGANOV (1857-1928), Russian philologist, by birth a Besarabian Bulgarian, professor of the Bulgarian Gymnasium in Salonika from 1885 to 1887

Vostokov himself, concerning the question of the origin of the Old Church Slavonic language, was in favor of *Macedonism*, naming as its fatherland *Macedonia*, and therefore, said Vostokov, it could be called *Macedonian*. But Vostokov was never in favor of *Bulgarism* of this significant scholarly thesis in the narrow meaning of the word, as his opponents claimed; on the contrary, as concerns the *Bulgarian tongue itself*, it could have, according to Vostokov, *differed from the former (Macedonian) in many important features since ancient times* and we will note, on our own part, as it differs from it even now. One would expect that sooner or later Vostokov's assertion will be confirmed by the inve-

\* In original: *deredže*. The autor's not follows: „I don't know how to write *dž*.“  
Translator's note.

stigation not only of historical linguistic documents but also of the contemporary structure of the Slavic tongues and especially of the Slavic dialects in the supposed fatherland of Cyril and Methodius's Slavic language.

P. D. Drag an o v , „Nosovye glasnye zvuki v sovremennych makedonsko-slavjanskich i bolgarskikh govorach“ (Nasal Vowels in Contemporary Macedo-Slavic and Bulgarian Dialects), Russkij filologičeskij vestnik, vol. XIX, issue 10, Warsaw 1888, p. 2 (reprint)

**KARL HRON (1852 – ?), Austrian publicist**

In any case it may be shown, from their history as well as from their language, that the Macedonians are neither Serbs nor Bulgarians, but rather a separate ethnic group, namely the direct descendants of those earliest Slavic immigrants, who had settled the Balkan peninsula long before the Serbian or the Bulgarian invasion, and have not mixed with either of these two ethnic groups.

Karl Hron, *Das Volkstum der Slaven Makedoniens* (Vienna, 1890), p. 31

**KRSTE PETKOV MISIRKOV (1874-1926), Macedonian Slavicist, publicist and ideologist**

With these few words I wished to explain to Macedonian readers the contents of this book about the questions most important for us. As a devotee of the idea of complete separation of our interests from the interests of the Balkan nations and of independent cultural national development, I have written it in the central Macedonian dialect, which will be for me from now on a literary Macedonian language.

K. P. Misirkov, *Za makedonckite raboti* (On Macedonian Matters) (Sofia, 1903) p. XI

**ALEKSANDAR TEODOROV BALAN (1859-1959), Bulgarian Slavicist**

Was it very long before the liberation of the Bulgarians that one could hear throughout Bulgaria Bulgarians answering to the question „What are you?“ (in nationality) that they are „Christians“ or „raya“

(non-Moslem Turkish subjects – *translator's note*)? And it is not so unusual even today to hear a Bulgarian answering in court to the question of his nationality that he is a „Christian“. For him the concept of nationality has not yet become a new acquisition of his reason. During the Turkish period the Bulgarian peasant termed Bulgarians from cities „Greeks“, and city clothing was for him „Greek clothing“. And since the Greeks called this peasant a „fat-headed Bulgarian“, his brother from the city loved to be called by the term „Hellene“ in order to avoid the derision associated with his true national name. Is not this exactly the same as what Mr. Misirkov tells us about the names for the Macedonian Slavs? The name „Bulgarian“ had in Bulgaria fallen to a level which brought it only the derision of foreigners. In the speech of the Bulgarian himself, this name had lost its national content to such an extent that it became a synonym for „Christian“, which name came to signify the entire ethnic content of the Bulgarian individual and social consciousness. Our peasant, in saying „we are Bulgarians“, thought „we are Christians“, i. e. orthodox. The Russian emperor was for him the „Bulgarian emperor“ not by nationality but by orthodox Christianity.

A. T. B a l a n , „Edna makedonska teorija“ (A Macedonian Theory), Periodičesko spisanie LXV, 1904, p. 818

ANDRA GAVRILOVIĆ (1864-1929), Serbian literary historian and writer

This winter a Macedonian theater group, under the direction of Crnodrimski, gave guest performances in Belgrade and certain other cities of the Kingdom of Serbia. It presented original Macedonian dramas in the Macedonian language. In one word, we had attempts at a new spiritual-cultural literature and art – Macedonian. Let us not fool ourselves. What Crnodrimski presented was not jargon but a tryout of a foreign culture in another milieu, just as Chech actors give guest performances in our National Theater, or, still better, just as for example Salvini visited Belgrade with his group a few years ago. Let us leave aside for the moment the fact that Crnodrimski has two versions of his plays, that for Sofia and that for Belgrade, and realize that the very existence of his Macedonian productions tells us that we have before us the beginnings of a new, fourth, literature in the Slavic South. And we have applauded this fact!

A. G a v r i l o v i ć , „Pred četvrtom književnošću“ (Before a Fourth Literature), Brankovo Kolo X 17, April 29, (May 12) 1904, p. 516



## JOURNAL "MAKEDONSKIJ GOLOS"

Remember, Macedonian nation, that the irreproducible Great Day\* in your life is approaching, that you will never again be able to ascend from a national death, and decide your fate alone – decide yourself!

For a long, long time they used to repeat to you that your soul is not yours but that of your neighbour, that your countenance must be reflected in a foreign mirror and not in that of your own life. Whom of us, Macedonians, was not assured that we are now Bulgarians, now Serbs, now Greeks...

And we are none of that, but rather – a separate nation with its own name – Slavo-Macedonians.

From the article „K makedonskomu narodu“ (To the Macedonian Nation), whose author wrote under a pseudonym „Upravda“, published in the journal „Makedonskij golos“ – Organ storonnikov nezavisimoj Makedonii“ (a Russian title which translates as „The Macedonian Voice – Organ of the Defenders of a Free Macedonia“), I, No. 2, St. Peterburg, June 27, 1913, p. 26

RUDOLF A. REISS (1876-1929), prominent Swiss lawyer and professor at the University in Lausanne

I have said that I would rather call your Bulgarophones Macedonians. You call these people Bulgarophones because of their language, which resembles Bulgarian. But, is this Bulgarian, is this the same language which is spoken in Sofia? No. Macedonian resembles Serbian as much as it does Bulgarian. I am not a linguist and I can not take the liberty of judging for myself, but the most concerned Balkanologists have assured me that Macedonian resembles Serbian more than Bulgarian. Perhaps there are linguists who assert the opposite. But the fact is that Macedonian is not spoken either in Sofia or in Belgrade. It is a separate Slavic language, just as is the Romansh language, spoken in Switzerland in the Grisons area, separate from Italian.

In my opinion a Macedonian can not be called either a Bulgarian or a Serbian, but simply a Macedonian.

R. A. Reiss, *Sur la situation des Macédoniens et des musulmans dans les nouvelles provinces Grecques* (Paris, Plon-Nourrit, 1918), pp. 6-7

\* The Macedonian term has also the meaning "Easter", the day of resurrection. *Translator's note.*

## HENRI BARBUSSE (1873-1935), prominent French writer

One is truly speaking here of a nation. A nation which has its own original ethnic character, its traditions, its aspirations, its unique and specific personality.

This nation, on the very soil where it has developed and endured, where history has planted it, to which it is bound by its roots and its culture, is treated as a collection of slaves and evildoers.

*La question macédonienne est-elle si complexe que cela? „Fédération Balcanique“ No. 51, Nov. 1, 1926, p. 867*

The Macedonians, who have their own separate language and indisputable ethnic originality, do not have the right to be called Macedonians.

*Un peuple asservi, „Monde“ No. 108, June 28, 1930, p.2*

## ANTOINE MEILLET (1866-1936), French linguist, Indoeuropeanist

The dialects of Macedonia are a part of the South Slavic group; those who speak them may, according to the circumstances, take as their common language Serbian or Bulgarian. Their dialects, differing among themselves, are not truly Serbian nor truly Bulgarian, especially if one is thinking of written Bulgarian, which is based on dialects quite far removed from the Macedonian dialects. Without doubt the simplification of the nouns is the same in Macedonia as in Bulgaria, but this is the effect of a tendency which is manifested also in the Serbian dialects of the Balkan region. Headmasters in the Bulgarian or Bulgarized schools have, in the last third of the 19th century, taken strong action in Macedonia; and it is this which has given the Bulgarians cause to claim the country for their common language; but there was no continuous action in a language of civilization: in the middle ages influences varied depending on the political situation; and, since the Turkish conquest, the literary tradition has ceased to play an appreciable role. Thus, while the politicians have claimed the dialects of Macedonia for such or such a group, disinterested linguists cannot but reserve their opinions.

In reality these dialects do not properly belong to either the one or the other of the two groups under dispute. And, even if the linguistic data had a neatness which they do not have, any particular resemblance to another group would not be at all decisive. It is puerile to call in linguistics in questions of borders of this sort. It is politics which will decide the linguistic future of Macedonia.

A. Meillet, *Les langues dans l'Europe nouvelle* (Paris, 1928), pp. 132-133

## BISTRIŠKI, WHY ARE WE MACEDONIANS A SEPARATE NATION?

Fourth congress of the Macedonian National Association of America. Detroit, Mich., 1934, pp. 42-45

The answer to this question is, more than all others, of *great political significance*. It is well known how Bulgarian as well as Serbian and Greek imperialism deny the existence of the Macedonian nation. According to the first of these, the Macedonians are the „best part of the Bulgarian nation”. According to the second, the Macedonians are „pure Serbs”, and according to the third, the Macedonians are „Slavicized Greeks”. Thus, each of our enslavers „justifies” keeping its respective enslaved part of our enslaved fatherland under its yoke, and at the same time justifies its pretensions for controlling all of Macedonia.

Orde Ivanoski, „Značajna studija od 1934 godina za nastanuvanje i razvitok na makedonskata nacija” (An Important Study from the Year 1934 about the Rise and Development of the Macedonian Nation), Glasnik, XVIII (1974) 1, pp. 161-162

## DECLARATION OF THE REGIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE VMRO\* (UNITED) UNDER BULGARIAN RULE

The report, a protest of the Macedonians under Greek rule, published in the Greek communist journal „Rizospastis” and others, is the result of the hidden desires and of the struggle of the entire Macedonian nation. The demand of the Macedonians under Greek rule to speak freely in their own native Macedonian language, to open their own Macedonian schools and to teach their children in their own native language is their holy right, which will be won by means of a relentless struggle of the Macedonian nation, against the imperialist captors, for the freedom and independence of Macedonia.

2. Since the Macedonians under Greek rule are neither „slavophones” nor „pure Greeks”, since the Macedonians under Serbian rule are not „true Serbs”, likewise the Macedonians under Bulgarian rule are not Bulgarians, nor do they wish to become so. The Macedonian nation has its own past, present and future, not as an appendix to imperialistic Bulgaria, Greece and Serbia, but as an independent nation, which for decades has been struggling to win the right to self-determination, including the right to separation as an independent political state unit from the imperialistic states which are oppressing it.

(Published in the journal „Makedonsko delo”, XI, No. 195 p. 8, February 1935. In the introduction to the Declaration it is stated: "In connection with the protest of the group of Macedonians from Aegean Macedonia, a protest sent to the Greek press against denationali-

\* VMRO – Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization. *Editor's note.*

zation and terrorism, the Regional Committee of the VMRO(UNITED) in Macedonia under Bulgarian rule, in the name of all Macedonians nationally oppressed by Bulgarian imperialism in the Petrič region and refugees to Bulgaria, is proclaiming this Declaration").

### ANDRÉ VAILLANT (1890-1977), French Slavicist

The concept of „Macedonian Slavic” is confusing only for those who want it to be. Macedonian Slavic is to such an extent a reality that there existed in the nineteenth century a Macedonian literary language, the language of a quite limited scholarly literature but of a voluminous popular literature; and one is not dealing here with documents of folklore such as can be found anywhere: the Macedonian lyric poem, much appreciated in Serbia and in Bulgaria, represents an authentic literary genre, of real value. This literary language, based on dialects which naturally differ among themselves, had not had the time for unification. But its centres were Skopje, Tetovo, Ohrid, Bitola (Manastir), Voden, etc.

A. Vaillant, "Le problème du slave macédonien", Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris, vol. 39, 2(No. 116), Paris, 1938, p. 195

### MIECZYSŁAW MAŁECKI (1903-1946), Polish Slavicist

But one should add that, in addition to those Macedonian features which developed in the same manner as those of Bulgarian or Serbian, there are also fully individual features which are not found in quite such a form in either of these languages. Among the most important of the phonetic features are the development  $*\dot{b}$ ,  $*\dot{b} \rightarrow o, e; *\dot{o} \rightarrow a$  or  $o$ , as well as  $\acute{k}, \acute{r} \leftarrow *tj, *dj$ , doubtlessly quite close to Serbian  $\acute{c}, \acute{d}$  but still differing from them. Therefore, in regard to the question whether the Macedonian dialects are Serbian or Bulgarian, I would answer that they are not entirely either Serbian or Bulgarian, but that most of them belong to an individual dialect type (which may be called the Macedonian language), bound by strong genealogical ties to both the languages mentioned. Macedonian is transition between Serbian and Bulgarian, and its connection to either of these languages exclusively is, from the linguistic viewpoint, unfounded.

M. Małecki, „Z zagadnień dialektologii macedońskiej” (On the Problems of Macedonian Dialectology), Rocznik Slawistyczny XIV, Kraków 1938, p. 142

## THE GREAT SOVIET ENCYCLOPEDIA (1938)

THE MACEDONIAN LANGUAGE...2) (In recent times) the language of the South Slavs living in the territory of present-day Macedonia. Regardless of the significant dialectal diversity, the Macedonian dialects are a unit and are noticeably distinct from the national dialects of Thrace, the Rhodope Mts., Mysia and the Balkan Mts.

Of the general Macedonian linguistic features we will note: 1) the change of „strong“ *ь* to *о*, „strong“ *ь* to *е* (son, den): this feature is reflected even in Old Church Slavic manuscripts; 2) the change of *х* to *ъ* with further dialectal development into *а* or *о* (дъб, dob, dab); 3) the change of *и* in all dialects of Macedonia to *е* (mesto, leto); 4) the loss of case forms and the analytic expression of case relationships; 5) the development of a postpositive article form in nouns and pronouns; 6) the various types of fixed stress (five types); 7) the first person singular verb ending for all stems in - *ам*; 8) generalization of a vowel (the reflex of *ь*) for the stem of the imperfect; 9) expression of the future tense using the particle *ќе* and the present tense forms; 10) the past participle ending for all genders in the plural -*ле*.

All of Macedonia can be divided into two dialect groups: the region to the west of the Vardar River and the southeast region of Macedonia. The second group includes also the dialects of Kostur (Castoria).

The western group is characterized by the following dialectal features: 1) three forms of the article, -*от* (masc.), -*та* (fem.), -*то* (neut.); -*ов*, -*ва*, -*во*, -*он*, -*на*, -*но*; 2) third person singular present ending -*т*; 3) stress on the third syllable from the end; 4) the phraseological character of stress. The western Macedonian dialects are further divided into several dialect groups: Debar, Ohrid, central, Tikveš-Mariovo, Velle-Skopje, Upper Polog and Lower Polog. Characteristic of the southeast dialects are: the pronouns *он*, *она*, *оно*, *они*; the preposition *сos*, etc.

The trying historical conditions experienced by the Macedonians have left their imprint on their culture. After the first imperialistic war (1914-1918) the greater part of Macedonia was joined to Yugoslavia. National oppression by the ruling Serbian bourgeoisie is exceptionally heavy. Serbian linguistic science, in the person of Belić, denies any right of self-determination to the Macedonian Slavs, claiming that the Macedonian Slavs are Serbs. On the other hand, Bulgarian linguistic science, which serves the purposes of Bulgarian imperialism, does not recognize the right of the Macedonians to independent national development. Southern Macedonia belongs to Greece, where there is also strong national oppression.

## KOČO RACIN (1908-1943), Macedonian poet and revolutionary

In the long, painful process of forming the consciousness of the nation of the Vardar region,\* contemporary national literature is a significant phenomenon and a cultural attainment. Written in a language in which this nation thinks most intimately, feels most deeply and expresses its eternal sufferings and most noble human strivings, closely tied to popular life and its progressive tendencies, this literature could not be other than a faithful and living reflection of all of these sufferings, passions and national ideals, heart and consciousness and a national banner waving on high. The process of the arisal of this literature is the best indication that its beginning was fruitful – when it was inspired by the needs of the nation, when it embodied the eternal national ideal, and that the process went completely mad when this literature lost its ties with the people...

... The objective conditions under which the contemporary writer of the Vardar region must work and live are especially trying, very complicated and painfully subduing. He must bear not only the hundredfold greater strain in creating a new and progressive literature under the circumstances of a very narrowed cultural milieu, of a very poor or almost nonexistent literary inheritance, supported only by his fanatical will and the well-intentioned help of people with progressive ideas, – but he must bear also the combined attacks of his opponent, who claims the right to a historical possession of the heart and consciousness of his nation. If one realizes the degree to which all possible means of attack are used here, with not the least scruples, it will become clear what difficulties and what trials await a Macedonian writer, who frequently lives in some small backwater town, lonely, far from the necessary literary milieu and the handbooks necessary for literary activity, and in what danger is his uncompromising position, without which, of course, there is no true and national literature...

... But although the difficulties in the path of development of a contemporary literature in the Vardar region are many-sided and enormous, all true and consistent writers must overcome them, must bear their profession with dignity. Deeply devoted to the national ideals, firmly supported by their true, aware and unique friends from the most progressive section of their nation, they will be able to fulfill their task with success. The enormous and inexhaustible poetic wealth of the Vardar region – the ideological result of centuries of suffering, struggle and national ideals, will sooner or later find its true laborers, who will raise it to the level of a modern national literature. On these few self-driven people falls a great historical honor, along with a great social responsibility, to carry out their profession honorably. They must, without regard for their own personal and other problems, trials and personal crises, earn honorably their true title – national writer of this brave and tormented nation. What was begun by Pejčinović, the Miladinov brothers

\* I. e. Macedonia (this term was forbidden in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia). *Editor's note.*

and Žinzifov, dellected for a time onto another path by inavoidable historical events, will now return to its home and will find its true inheritors.

K. Racin, „Razvitak i značaj jedne nove književnosti“ (The Development and Significance of One of Our New Literatures), *Radnički tjednik* I, No. 23, pp. 5-6

**TRAJČO KOSTOV (1897-1949)**, Bulgarian political worker, secretary of the CC BWP (C)

The debate as to whether the Macedonians are Bulgarians or Macedonian Slavs would under the present circumstances be in truth a doctrinaire tongue-wagging. But we must bear in mind the facts. And the facts say that a great part of the Macedonian population has more a Macedonian than a Macedo-Bulgarian consciousness. According to reliable facts, supplied by our competent comrades of Macedonia itself, the Macedonian consciousness has penetrated quite deeply, especially among the younger generation, which was not exposed to exarchistic propaganda. According to these comrades, who are fully acquainted with the situation in Macedonia, not less than 80% of the Slavic population in Macedonia considers itself as a Macedonian, and not a Bulgarian population (it does not understand the Bulgarian language). Our documents are translated into Macedonian and, these comrades tell us, it will be difficult for Bulgarian propaganda to destroy this Macedonian consciousness. The nation is not only not exhilarated by its „freedom“, you can not even force it to shout „Hurrah“, and it is deaf to patriotic chatter. It is clear that the process of formation of the Macedonian people as a nation made great progress. We can not help but have a favorable attitude towards this process and we can not help but aid it actively, since it best suits the interests, traditions and tasks of the Macedonian people.

From a letter by Trajčo Kostov, secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Workers' Party (Communists) of May, 1941, to Todor Pavlov, stating the attitude of the CC BWP (C) towards the Macedonian question, in answer to a letter by Todor Pavlov of May 15, 1941. Published in „Razgledi“, XIII, 4, 1971, pp. 401-412

### PROCLAMATION OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE BULGARIAN COMMUNIST PARTY: "ON FREEDOM, EQUALITY AND SELF-GOVERNMENT FOR MACEDONIA"

December 1941

Macedonians!

...Today, as before, you have no political or cultural freedom. While the Serbian officials did not allow you to call yourselves Macedonians and

persecuted those who disobeyed, now the Bulgarian fascists and chauvinists force you to call yourselves Macedonian Bulgarians, also persecuting those who say they are Macedonians. They represent your leaders and fighters from the past, such as Goce Delčev, Pere Tošev, Gorče Petrov, Jane Sandanski and Dimo H. Dimov, completely as Bulgarian chauvinists and fascists. In all proclamations of the government and of those Macedonians who have sold themselves to it Goce's struggle for freedom, democracy, equality and self-determination for the Macedonian people is put on a par with the efforts of the Bulgarian fascists and Hitler to conquer and loot. What a disgusting desecration of the memory of your great apostles! What a tilthy distortion and falsification of the Macedonian struggle for freedom!

...If you dare to call yourselves Macedonians, they hunt you down and beat you, you cannot get a job, let alone a pass. You are not allowed to speak the Macedonian language in the institutions and any conversation in Macedonian is noted down as Serbophile. The whole history of the Macedonian people, its culture and struggles, are distorted by the Bulgarian fascists and chauvinists against the will and protests of the Bulgarian working people, in the same way as the chauvinist advocates of a Greater Serbia dealt with the subject until recently, against the wishes and protests of the Serbian working masses and of the highly educated, progressive elements among our Serbian brothers.

Arhiv na Komunističkata partija na Jugoslavija (Archive of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia), Volume VII, Belgrade, 1951, p. 83-84

TODOR PAVLOV (1890-1976), Bulgarian philosopher and social worker, for many years president of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences

The publication „Makedonska Misel“ (Macedonian Thought) will undoubtedly play a useful role, if its editors and collaborators never forget that the new Macedonian national consciousness has not fallen fully developed from heaven, but is the result of a whole series of events, struggles and efforts, some of which date back to before the liberation of Bulgaria. This is a complex process which should be studied from all sides, in its theoretical as well as its historical aspect, and only in this way will the publication make a positive contribution to the future consolidation and development of the new national culture of Macedonia as well as to the new free democratic federal republic of Macedonia.

Academician Todor Pavlov, regent of Bulgaria, on the publication „Makedonska Misel“, I, 1-2, Sofia, 1945, pp. 2-3

\* Goce Delčev (1872-1903), one of the foremost Macedonian revolutionaries.  
Editor's note.

By the way, we can not be unjust to the memory of the great Macedonian son and therefore, all the same, we must note precisely here that Goce\* had written in one of his letters: „So is there no-one to write even one book in Macedonian?“ This exclamation of Goce's shows that if he had remained alive he would in no case have remained indifferent to the fact that today in Macedonia there is a volume of books, and not only poetic and publicistic ones, written in this very Macedonian language which has been formed to a significant degree and is continuously being improved upon and perfected exactly as a new Macedonian literary language.

T. Pavlov, „Goce Delčev“, Makedonska misel, II, 1-2, Sofia, 1946, p. 7

### GEORGI CANEV (1895), Bulgarian literary historian and critic

The guest appearance of the Macedonian National Theater in Bulgaria is an event of historical character. It is the first cultural manifestation of the new Democratic Republic of Macedonia. Come to show us their art are people from the land which is not only classic in the history of Slavic culture but classic also in its sufferings. And this manifestation signifies above all that an end has finally come to the murky past when Macedonia was the object of attempts to conquer on the part of many lands. Today the fatherland of the Miladinov brothers is a free and equal member of Tito's Federal Yugoslavia. The Macedonian nation is in confident control of its own fate, speaks and studies in the Macedonian language, is building up its own culture. It has already all the social, political and cultural conditions which Goce Delčev, Jane Sandanski, Dimo Hadži Dimov and many other sons of Macedonia dreamed of and fought for. The development of the National Liberation Struggle has put an end to egotistical and chauvinistic nationalism, history has declared its judgement upon all supporters of slavery and reaction and has affirmed the right of nations to decide for themselves their own fate.

The democratic fatherland-fronted Bulgaria joyfully awaited the first manifestations of the culture of its brother the Macedonian nation. Our progressive intelligence felt that culture as a part of an enormous common culture which the South Slavs are beginning to create, inspired by the idea of unity and the closest mutual relations. Therefore the first performance of the Macedonian National Theater took place in such a tense atmosphere, with such enthusiasm.

But what makes by far the strongest impression and what is especially important to emphasize is above all the language: the Macedonian stage language sounds wonderful. Its greatest beauty, that which attracts the audience, derives from its particular rythm and melodiousness.

\* Goce Delčev *Editor's note.*

The play „Čorbadži Teodos“ (Master Theodosius), by Vasil Il'oski, is a lovely addition to Macedonian literature. It reflects an older period, the period of Turkish slavery. To this fact is certainly due the presence of many Turkisms in the language.

G. Canev, *Parvoto predstavlenie na makedonskija Naroden teatăr* (The First Performance of the Macedonian National Theater), in „Otečestven front“, July 7, 1946

### STOJKO STOJKOV (1911-1969), Bulgarian Slavicist

The texts in the chrestomathy are ordered according to the geographical position of the dialects, in this order: northeastern dialects, northwestern dialects, southwestern dialects, dialects outside the borders of Bulgaria (Banat and the Soviet Union) and at the end are given examples from the Macedonian dialects of the Pirin region.

S. Stojkov, *Hristomatija po bălgarska dialektologija* (A Chrestomathy of the Bulgarian Dialectology) (Sofia, 1950), p. VI

### IVAN LEKOV (1904-1978), Bulgarian Slavicist

The following texts contain examples of the contemporary Slavic literary languages, namely: Russian, Ukrainian, White Russian, Polish, Upper and Lower Sorbian, Czech, Slovak, Serbo-Croatian, Slovene, Macedonian and Bulgarian. The individual languages are represented by texts of prominent writers, which may give some idea of the given language and its literature... We can not avoid emphasizing that this textbook marks the first appearance in Bulgaria of texts in the White Russian, Slovak, Slovene, Macedonian, Upper and Lower Sorbian languages... In order to make utilization of the texts easier for students, we found it necessary to append short dictionaries of each of the given languages.

I. Lekov, (ed.) *Slavjanski tekstove s pojasnitelni beležki i rečnici* (Slavic Texts with Explanatory Notes and Dictionaries) (Sofia, 1958), pp. 3-4

### GEORGI DIMITROV (1882-1949), prominent Bulgarian revolutionary, from 1935 to 1943 Secretary general of the Communist Internationale

CHAUVINISM. No plural. (Fr.) A reactionary bourgeois ideology and policy which preaches the superiority of one nation over another and

stirs up national enmity and hatred between peoples; nationalism. „One of the most important roots of all national misfortunes and catastrophes... lies in the Great Bulgarian chauvinism, in the Great Bulgarian ideology and policy of hegemony in the Balkans and rule over the neighbouring peoples.“ G. Dimitrov.

Definition taken from *Rečnik na sèvremennija bølgarski knižoven ezik* (Dictionary of the Modern Bulgarian Literary Language), vol. 3, (Sofia, 1959), p. 655

## II TEXTS FROM THE NATIONAL LIBERATION STRUGGLE (1941-1945)

October, 1943

### MANIFESTO FROM THE HEADQUARTERS OF THE NOV (NATIONAL LIBERATION ARMY) AND POM (PARTIZAN DETACHMENTS OF MACEDONIA) TO THE NATIONS LIVING IN MACEDONIA ABOUT THE GOALS AND THE CHARACTER OF THE NATIONAL LIBERATION STRUGGLE (Fragment)

#### MANIFESTO

*MACEDONIAN NATION! MACEDONIAN MEN AND WOMAN!  
BROTHERS AND SISTERS OF OUR ENSLAVED BUT NEVER  
SUBDUED FATHERLAND!\**

The days have arrived for the great victories of our weapons. Every day brings a new, great victory. The invincible Red Army, the hope of all enslaved nations, is advancing towards the west and cannot be held back. The allied Anglo-American armies are advancing in Italy. Our glorious National Liberation Army of Yugoslavia, under the skilled command of the greatest warrior of our land – comrade Tito, has liberated cities and villages throughout Yugoslavia. And today our young National Liberation Army of Macedonia, which is a part of the National Liberation Army of Yugoslavia, having grown out of small partisan detachments during a period of two years of unequal battles against the fascist occupation forces and their servants, has attained great victories. A large part of our fatherland has been liberated. Our young army, under the glorious banner of the Kruševo Republic\*\*, strides victoriously and defiantly tramps forwards towards its great idea – *the liberation of Macedonia*.

\* The original of this document is kept in the Institute for National History in Skopje, under the number 280. The document bears no date or place, but was written during the first days of October, 1943, in the free territory in Debarca (village Crvena Voda) where the Headquarters of the NOV and POM of Macedonia were located at the time.

\*\* The Kruševo Republic – On August 2, 1903, the Ilinden Revolution broke out against the Turkish rule. Among other cities and villages, Kruševo and its surroundings were liberated. The revolutionaries in Kruševo organized an Assembly of 60 members, 20 of each nationality. From the ranks of the assembled was chosen an Executive Committee of 6 members. At the head of the Republic was Nikola Karev. This national-democratic rule lasted until the reoccupation of Kruševo by the Turks on August 13, 1903.



These days to come are at the same time days of great battles which will decide the fate of our tortured and bloodied fatherland.

The German fascist occupying powers have suffered fatal blows in Stalingrad, Orel, Kharkov, Smolensk and in Africa, Sicily and Italy. They have lost their greatest ally – the fascist Italy of Mussolini. But they are not yet destroyed. On the contrary, we have still before us great and difficult battles with this *chief enemy* of the freedom and independence of our nation.

The Great Bulgarian fascists, under the leadership of prince Cyril, Filov, Mikhov\*\*\* and others who faithfully serve Hitler's plans for enslavement, are close to capitulation. The closer the armies of our Slavic brothers, the Russians, approach to the Bulgarian border and the stronger is the pressure of the National-liberating revolutionary detachments of our brother, the Bulgarian nation, the greater is the disintegration of the Bulgarian clique and its servants among the ranks of the Macedonian nation. These base servants of Hitler's fascism, together with the thieving Germanic hordes, are still trampling with their dirty boot our cities and villages, our holy land. These thieving bands are still plundering our villages. Even today they are dragging our sons off to distant battlefields, to fight against the great allied armies and against our Yugoslav brothers, and all this for what? – For German bankers and barons. With these unclean servants of Hitler's fascism, with the Great Bulgarian fascist occupying forces we have still before us *many difficult and severe battles*.

The Great Serbian hegemonists, led by the traitorous Draža Mihajlović, who faithfully served the Germano-Italian occupying forces with the aim of smashing our national liberation struggle, are now in the process of disintegration. Our heroic National Liberation Army of Yugoslavia has smashed them in nearly all the lands of Yugoslavia. Yet these miserable fragments of the Great Serbian hegemony, now opposed by the entire Serbian nation together with all the nations of Yugoslavia, are attempting by any means to attain their unclean goals, and with the help of the occupying forces to smash our National Liberation Army. They have joined with the Great Albanian hegemonists in the regions of Gostivar and Tetovo, while in the area of Kumanovo, by attacking mosques, they are attempting to incite Macedonians, Albanians and Turks to a mutual civil war. In order to assure the restoration of the regime of the Great Serbian hegemony and tyranny in Macedonia, they will do anything. And with these vile servants of Hitler's fascism, with the Great Serbian agents of the occupying forces in Macedonia, we have still before us *many great and severe battles*.

The Great Albanian fascists and the Great Albanian hegemonic elements of all of Albania are gathering in all the territory of Macedonia which was recently under Italian occupation and with the aid of

\*\*\* After the death of Tsar Boris (August 28, 1943) a regency was formed in Bulgaria, composed of prince Cyril, prof. Bogdan Filov and general Nikolaj Mikhov. The regency continued the previous policy of cooperating with the Axis powers.

the German occupying forces, are attempting to smash our National Liberation Army from all sides. This reactionary Great Albanian clique is already attempting to destroy the unity of the Macedonian and Albanian nation, created during the course of a difficult and uneven struggle against the occupying forces, by a provocative statement of the question of future boundaries. It wishes to incite them to a civil religious war in the interest of the German fascist enslavers. It forms thieving bands with the aim of attacking us from the rear. And with these new servants of Hitler's fascism, with the Great Albanian hegemonic agents of the occupying forces, we still have before us many great and severe battles.

The Macedonian fascists, traitors to the Macedonian nation, servants of the German fascist occupying forces under the leadership of Vančo Mihajlov on the one hand and Kitinčev, Čukatov, Košta Cipušev and others on the other hand, are today in the process of disintegration. The more obvious it is that German fascism is breaking apart and the greater is the flow of warriors into the ranks of our National Liberation Army, the greater is the fear caused in the ranks of all traitors to the Macedonian nation, who have betrayed their fatherland in Hitler's interest. But these base traitors are attempting to disunite the Macedonian nation and to continue to enslave it in this manner. And against this fascist clique *we must still fight for a long time, united and bravely.*

*Brothers and sisters, Macedonian men and women!*

For the first time in our glorious history we now have our own young national army. For the first time our young army is reaping victory after victory. We are about to face new great battles. The future of our country is at stake. The final hour is striking. We implore you, sons and daughters of the Macedonian nation, to join the ranks of battle of our National Liberation Army of Macedonia. We implore you to strike with unlimited strength all enemies of our freedom and independence. We implore also you, old Ilinden warriors, to enter the ranks of our army. The glorious days of the Kruševo Republic and the Ilinden Revolution are rising again. We implore you also, the heroic youth of Macedonia, which has given so many sacrifices in the struggle for the freedom of its nation. And we implore you, the Macedonian nation, to enter decisively into our ranks. The days to come will decide your fate.

August 2, 1944, monastery Prohor Pčinski

RESOLUTION PASSED AT THE FIRST SESSION OF ASNOM FOR THE PROCLAMATION OF ASNOM AS THE SUPREME JUDICIAL AND EXECUTIVE NATIONAL REPRESENTATIVE BODY AND THE HIGHEST ORGAN OF STATE POWER OF DEMOCRATIC MACEDONIA

*RESOLUTION*

*of the Antifascist Assembly for the National Liberation of Macedonia as the supreme judicial and executive national representative body and the highest organ of state power of democratic Macedonia (ASNOM)\**

Art. 1

Based upon the sovereign will and right to self-determination of the nation of Macedonia, whose faithful interpreters are the representatives at this Assembly, and in accordance with the resolutions passed at the II session of AVNOJ (Antifascist Council for the National Liberation of Yugoslavia) in the city Jajce on November 29, 1943, the Antifascist Assembly for the National Liberation of Macedonia (ASNOM) is organized as the supreme judicial and executive representative body of Macedonia and (of) the Macedonian state, as an equal federal unit in democratic federal Yugoslavia.

Art. 2

ASNOM exercises the judicial and executive function of the Macedonian federal state, until this function has not been transferred to its Presidium and to the National government of the Macedonian state.

Art. 3

ASNOM is formed of those national representatives, without regard for nationality, faith, sex, race and political party, who have shown proof that they support the fight for independence and freedom of the nation of Macedonia and the national liberation struggle of all the other nations of Yugoslavia, and in addition are irreconcilable enemies of the occupying forces and their collaborators.

Art. 4

The judicial power of ASNOM is exercised at its plenary sessions, and between sessions this power is exercised through the Presidium.

\* The original of the document is located in the Institute for National History in Skopje, document number 2842.

The executive power of ASNOM is exercised through its Presidium and through the National Government of the Macedonian state.

#### Art. 5

ASNOM and the National Government of the Macedonian state are the supreme organs of national power in the Macedonian state as a federal unit in federative Yugoslavia.

Having in view the present state of the national liberation struggle and the degree of organization of government in the state as a whole, and since there are not yet all the necessary conditions for the formation of the National Government of the Macedonian state, the function of the National Government will be temporarily executed by the PRESIDIUM of ASNOM.

#### Art. 6

ASNOM selects for itself a Presidium which is composed of a president, two vice-presidents, two secretaries and at least 16 (sixteen) other members.

#### Art. 7

The Presidium is responsible for its actions to ASNOM.

#### Art. 8

All the judicial decisions of ASNOM and its Presidium will be given out with the signatures of the president and the secretary of ASNOM, respectively its Presidium.

#### Art. 9

The laws of the federal Macedonian state and the laws of federative and democratic Yugoslavia are in effect within the territory of Macedonia.

#### Art. 10

Until the formation of a National Government of the Macedonian state the Presidium of ASNOM will form the necessary number of sections for the various branches of governmental management.

Each section will be under the direction of a chief of the section. The chief of the section will direct the activities of the section, under the directorship and control of a member of the Presidium, to whom he will be responsible.

## Art. 11

The National Government of the Macedonian state, or before its formation the Presidium of ASNOM, has as its function national government, based on the resolutions of ASNOM, and in accordance with the decisions of AVNOJ, as well as the laws and resolutions of the National Committee for the Liberation of Yugoslavia, passes these laws and resolutions and controls how they are carried out in the Macedonian state.

## Art. 12

The National Government of the Macedonian state, or before its formation the Presidium of ASNOM, has the right to veto resolutions and laws of all of the national liberation committees if they are not in accord with the laws of the Macedonian state.

## Art. 13

The activities of every session of the Assembly are led by the executive council, chosen only for this session. The council consists of a president, vice-president, two secretaries and at least 5 other members.

At every session there will also be chosen a verification committee of 5 members.

The new session will be opened by the President of the previous session, who will suggest the selection of a new executive council.

## Art. 14

This resolution takes effect immediately.

In the monastery „Sveti Otec Prohor Pčinski“ on ILINDEN August 2, 1944.

For the Antifascist Assembly for the National Liberation of Macedonia.

Secretary:  
L'upčo D. Arsov

President:  
Metodi Andonov-Čento

August 2, 1944, monastery Prohor Pčinski

**RESOLUTION OF THE FIRST SESSION OF ASNOM FOR THE  
INTRODUCTION OF THE MACEDONIAN LANGUAGE AS AN  
OFFICIAL LANGUAGE IN THE MACEDONIAN STATE**

*Resolution*

*of the Antifascist Assembly for the National Liberation of Macedonia  
about the introduction of the Macedonian language as the official language  
in the Macedonian state\**

Art. 1

The national Macedonian language is introduced in the Macedonian state as official language.

Art. 2

This resolution goes into effect immediately.

In the monastery "Sv. Otec Prohor Pčinski" on ILINDEN, August 2, 1944.

For the Antifascist Assembly for the National Liberation of Macedonia.

Secretary:  
L'upčo D. Arsov

President:  
Metodi Andonov-Čento

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\* The original of the document is found in the State Archive of the SR Macedonia, Skopje, filed under ASNOM.

### III ARTICLES

K. P. Misirkov

#### A FEW WORDS ABOUT THE MACEDONIAN LITERARY LANGUAGE

In the previous four articles of this book I have attempted to draw the attention of my fellow countrymen to the necessity for a radical alteration in what has been up to now the process of our cultural development, as well as to the fact that my opinions on this are not something new and unfounded, but only a step forwards in the development up to the present of our national consciousness, and are therefore completely natural and well-founded.

It is understood that in a small book such as this one, all the questions brought up can not be considered in detail. An entire book could be written on each one of them. But for now there is still no great or unpostponable need for such detailed investigations of the questions under discussion; instead it is necessary to say only a few words about each of them, for considered one without the other they are unclear and unintelligible. Besides a consideration of all the questions touched upon, in order to explain why this book has appeared, it will now be necessary to say a few words about the current need for the book and about our literary language.

Many people will perhaps say that it is in truth well to think about the questions brought up in this book, but it is not yet the time for this. This book, they will say, will bring discord and disunity among us, instead of the unification which for now is so urgent for us. We will be able to think about the Macedonian nation, Macedonian literature, and literary language only when we begin for once to live a free political life; and until then there is no need, we are not united and we should leave aside the national question.

All I can say to this is: in my opinion, the present, i. e. the Mürzsteg reforms, are the most that our revolution has received from Europe. Starting a revolt next spring will be the most inane thing that we can do. The spring revolt will only be used against us by our enemies, who have only interests opposed to our national interests. A spring revolt will only completely destroy us, and will destroy the fruits of our efforts until now, for it will be aimed not against Turkey but against Turkey and the Reforming Powers, and it will be not in our interests but in the interests

of a certain Great Power and certain small Balkan states which are urging us to revolt and will afterwards leave us in the middle of the road; and finally, if we, despite all the arguments of common sense, still carry out a revolt, we will only give a reason for a diplomatic battle between the reforming states and a certain third state, which battle will end only with our destruction. Therefore we ought to abstain from any thought of a spring revolt, the more so, because the reforms will be carried through, since they have to do with the honor of two Great Powers, which are capable of arranging things as they should be, – and we should concern ourselves with a new, i. e. cultural battle, in which the first place belongs to the question of our nationality and our national-religious development. This means, in other words, that it is now time to think about our language, our national literature and education in a national spirit. The time has come for an interest in national-religious questions.

This interest has come a bit late, but it does not follow however that there is no place for such an interest among us now and that it can cause us harm.

If we are logical, then we must confess that the autonomy of Macedonia, for which the revolutionaries are presently fighting, makes sense only in the case that the revolutionaries recognize in our nation such qualities and characteristics as are not found in the other Balkan nations, and are characteristic only for us. The mere recognition of these differentiating features of character, habits, customs, life, traditions and language of our nation is an important reason for us to oppose the division of our fatherland and for its autonomy, because its division would root out all that is dear to us and would fetter our national spirit with something highly revulsive. Only a separate Macedonian national consciousness among us gives us the moral right to fight against the demands of the small Balkan states that our territory be divided, and to fight against the political action of the Balkan states, which is preparing the ground for this division. And if autonomy can not be obtained, should we look indifferently upon the effect of this political action (propaganda) and direct our efforts against a new national program, only because this program might reduce the force of the main opponent? By no means, because not the slightest bit of propaganda, no matter how forceful, can live up to our expectations. All propaganda is propaganda only in its own interest, and by no means in our interest, and our nation has never gained anything in particular from it. We will never be freed of this political action because, if one form of propaganda is stronger today, tomorrow it will be another, and the first will lose force. Propaganda in any form can in the end only have as its end result – division, which is not sought even by those who are opposed to national separatism. This means that this latter is not out of place under the current circumstances, and can bring us only sweet fruits, and not ruin us.

National separatism has but one duty, that is to show favor to all that is national, above all, towards our native language.

Language is the means by which we know what our fellow speaker thinks, feels and wants. Language has particular vocal signs, or

words, for all ideas, feelings and desires, and therefore the language of a given nation is its spiritual treasure and inheritance, in which there are preserved, fixed in vocal signs, or words, all the national thoughts, feelings and desires which this nation has experienced and is experiencing and which are transmitted from one generation to the next. To care for one's native language and to defend it as something holy means to remain faithful to the spirits of one's forefathers and to respect all that they have done for posterity. If one casts aside his native language, this means that he casts aside his national spirit as well. Only this can explain the desires and efforts of conquerors to force the conquered to cast aside their own language and to learn in its place that of the conquerors; and this also explains the stubbornness with which conquered nations retain their spiritual national heritage, and especially their language.

We should also show this favor to our native language if we wish to remain faithful to the spirit of our forefathers. Favor towards our native language is our duty and our right. We are duty-bound to love our language, because it is ours, just as our fatherland is ours. The first voices which we heard were the voices of our fathers and mothers, the sounds and words of our native language. Through them we received our first spiritual nourishment, because by this means we put into thought all that we saw with our eyes. Through our native language we absorb the psychology of our fathers and forefathers and become their spiritual descendants, as we are in the physical sense their bodily continuations. If we turn with disdain upon our native language, we only act thanklessly towards our parents in return for their spiritual care and upbringing. — It is our right, as well as our duty, to defend our native language, and this is our sacred right. He who attacks our language is as much our enemy as he who attacks our faith. Faith and language, these are the soul of a nation, and with their alteration, a nation undergoes a radical spiritual transformation: it casts aside all that has gone before and takes upon itself all that is new. Such a radical transformation, if it takes place gradually and over a period of centuries, is not dangerous, because parts of it concern one generation, other parts other generations, so that some parts are passed on as a national heritage, and only a few parts are new. Such a radical transformation is not dangerous only if it is the result of an independent national development.

But, if a nation changes its language and its faith during a single short time period and under strong foreign influence, not conscious of what such a change means, then it renounces itself and its own interests and surrenders both to a stronger nation, which will act towards this nation and its interests as it sees fit. This means that for a nation to renounce its language is to renounce itself and its own interests; it means that this nation ceases regarding itself with its own eyes, judging itself and others with its own mind and reason, and that it expects to have everything dictated to it by another. A nation which has lost its language is like a man who has lost his way and does not know where he has been and where he is going, nor why he is going in one direction and not in

another. The shorter the period in which a nation changes its language, the more dangerous and hopeless is its position.

The danger threatening nation and its interests on the part of this political action, which utilizes all available means to wipe our language from the face of Macedonia, and with it our spiritual interests, and to plant in its place its own languages and interests, not only makes it our duty but gives us full right to use all available means to defend our native language, and with it our national interests. Apart from this, we do not covet anything foreign, but only protect our own. Language is the acoustic result of the physiological activity of the organs of human speech, to which is ascribed a definite meaning. The main elements of language or human speech are: the speech organs, their physiological activity, hearing, the psychological reception of the physiological activity of the organs by means of hearing, and the assignment by the receiver of the result of the physiological activity of the organs of speech of some meaning to the sound or word. This means that language is mainly a physiologico-psychological ability of man, and as such depends upon human change, i. e. with the development of a man and a nation their language develops as well, and with their decline their language declines as well. Man changes in time and space: his language changes in the same way. Changes in the language of a nation in time make up the history of the language of that nation, and its changes in space are equivalent to its contemporary variants or dialects, subdialects, local idioms, etc.

Every national language has its history and its contemporary variants or dialects, subdialects etc. Our language too has its own history and variants. Following this history one can learn how the current variants derived from the older ones, and the latter from a common Macedonian language, which derived from a South Slavic group etc. One can also determine in which variant or dialect and at what period there was a greater amount of literature.

The history of our language, as of others, shows us that every dialect, subdialect, local idiom, etc. may be used in literary works. This privilege of any dialect, subdialect, etc. – to be the organ of literary language – is given to them, according to the teachings of the history of languages, not for some particular esthetic preferences but for purely practical reasons, i. e. by the coincidence of historical-cultural chance. Such chance may today raise one dialect to the level of a literary language, tomorrow another, etc.

Historical-cultural chance has always been and continues to be the prime factor in the creation of literary languages. Thanks to it we have in recent times abstained from choosing one of our dialects as a common literary language, and have instead come to study and to write in the foreign languages of our neighbours, for the most part in Bulgarian. Thanks to such chance we are now in the process of selecting as a common literary language the dialect of central Macedonia, i. e. Veles-Prilep-Bitola-Ohrid.

What are these historical-cultural factors which cause us, first, to form our own literary language, and, second, to select the central dialect area?

Here they are.

We have seen how national interests are closely bound to language, and the latter with the national character and spirit. We see now that three varieties of national and religious propaganda are contesting with each other in our fatherland, and that all are fighting together against us and our interests, hoping to deal them the fatal blow and to subjugate them, undertaking among us, with this aim, religious and educational activity, hoping to deal this fatal blow to our nationality with their own arm, through the church and school, and to force upon us their own language in place of ours. National interests force us to defend them, to defend our language from the political action of the Balkan states. This defense will be successful and will upset all plans of the propagandizers only if it is united and common. And in order for it to be such, there must be general agreement in choosing one dialect as a common Macedonian literary language. There will be agreement, it seems to me, only if each of us makes this selection not out of some esthetic conceptions and not for purely local reasons but from the viewpoint of common interests. The latter suggest that the peripheral dialects give way to the central ones. Just as a state has a state center, which is best located in the center of the state and where all the reins of state life are held, in the same way language areas of related dialects should have a center, which by its very meaning should relate to the peripheral dialects and idioms in the way that the center and capital of the state relate to the extreme districts and areas. All of our scholarly and literary forces should be grouped about the central dialect in order to purify it and enrich it with the treasures of other Macedonian dialects and to create of it a beautiful literary language. It should become the vehicle of a rich pedagogical scholarly and belletristic literature, so that it can spread throughout all of Macedonia as a literary language which will replace all the languages of propaganda. And along with this replacement of the languages of propaganda and the creation of our literary language, we will drive out from Macedonia the interests of the small Balkan nations and in their place will rule Macedonian interests, expressed in the Macedonian language.

And thus the usefulness of our common literary language serves us as a measure in the choosing of a dialect for this purpose, and this is the main factor in the creation of our new literary language.

In the process of raising one dialect to the level of a literary language, its esthetic properties have never played an important role. One reason for this is that practical considerations take precedence over esthetic ones, and another reason is that the latter are relative and for the most part subjective. For such a reason one finds more beautiful almost exclusively only those dialects and local idioms which he hears or has heard frequently. Therefore it is not possible even to speak of esthetic qualities in language, dialects and local idioms.

Thus means that a Macedonian from eastern, or northern, or southern, or western Macedonia has no right to object to the selection of the central Macedonian dialect as a literary language only because it does not seem beautiful to him. He has no right to protest against the central dialect for the additional reason that it is central and because the selection is made for practical considerations.

Now let us see how the selection of the central dialect is justified from the practical point of view.

Bitola has been chosen as the residence of the Inspector General of Macedonia and his advisors – civil agents. It is becoming the capital of Macedonia. This new capital is not far from the old ones, Prespa and Prilep, and from the seat of the until recently autocephalous Ohrid Archbishopric. This means that the central dialect area has behind it, so to say, historical rights. The latter are based on this central position, which is geographic as well as ethnographic. The central city in Macedonia is Veles. We need only remove ourselves slightly from this geographic center, through Prilep in the direction of Bitola and Ohrid. Such a direction of movement away from the geographic center is explained on the one hand by the fact that these areas are of greater historical significance for Macedonia and on the other hand by the fact that they are further removed from the Serbian and Bulgarian linguistic centers, making up a Macedonian linguistic center. And in truth the dialect of Veles-Prilep-Bitola-Ohrid is the nucleus of the Macedonian language, since to its west is the Debar dialect (roka), to the south, the dialect of Kostur (ronka), to the east, the eastern or Solun (Salonika) dialect (rəka) and to the north the Skopje or northern dialect (ruka).

The creation of a literary language is for us a spiritual need, by which it is thought that an end will be brought to the abuses of the political action of the Balkan states, in our own interests, and by which our own literary and scholarly center should be created, so that there will be no need for Belgrade and Sofia. And this difficult task will be accomplished only if the Macedonian from northern Macedonia gives his hand to his brother from southern Macedonia, and the Macedonian from eastern Macedonia gives his hand to one from the west. These joined hands will meet around Prilep-Bitola.

And so: the movement by the Macedonians to create their own cultural center, the fact that Bitola is the capital of Macedonia, the fact that Bitola, Ohrid, and Prilep are historical places for the Macedonians, as well as the fact that they make up a geographic and linguistic center; all these circumstances together are cause to accept as a common Macedonian literary language the central dialect group.

As soon as the dialect is selected which will be the Macedonian literary language, it will be necessary to consider the question of Macedonian orthography.

A few remarks should be made here about our orthography as well as about the direction of our national cultural development. The orthography of a language, as well as the elaboration of a literary language, may be gradual and semiconscious. A person from a nation with no

literary development may learn the alphabet of a nation more advanced culturally. This person may make use of the foreign alphabet for the sounds of his own language as well, or express his own thoughts with the help of a foreign alphabet. But if there exist in his language sounds which are not found in the language from which the alphabet is borrowed, the borrower of the foreign alphabet will make certain changes and additions, which will indicate the difference in sounds between the two languages. This borrowed and altered alphabet will be transmitted from generation to generation and in transmission will change and will become more suited to the language of the borrowers. In such a gradual and unnoticeable manner the alphabets of the least culturally developed nations are formed in contact with more culturally developed nations. But such a gradual process is appropriate if two neighbouring nations are in unequal political circumstances, so to say, such that one nation, the more culturally developed, is in control, and the other, less culturally developed, is enslaved, or at the least does not have complete political freedom. But things are different if both the nations have their own governments. In such a case borrowing, especially cultural, is more conscious and more rapid. Thus Christianity and literacy were adopted by the Macedonians before any of the other Slavic nations. They spread over the course of centuries and thoroughly permeated society. There is no mention of the baptism of our nation in historical sources. But baptism always goes hand in hand with literacy. The omission of any mention of our baptism means that there is no mention of the process of development of our literary tradition.

And thus our spiritual renaissance and education, as well as the development of our literary tradition, because of geographical and historical circumstances, took a different path from that of the other orthodox Slavic nations in the first millenium A.D. In our case this was a gradual and unmarked process, and in their case a rapid one with marked tendencies.

With the Turkish occupation of the Balkan peninsula a change occurred. The Turkish rule severed all our ties with our heritage. This is expressed most clearly in Macedonia, as the central province, and therefore at the time when the other Slavic nations were gradually developing a literary language and orthography we were become ever more devoid of national consciousness and almost completely refrained from using language as an organ of literacy. From time to time during the course of the 19th century we find attempts to write in Macedonian, but for certain historical reasons these attempts were not crowned with success, as might have been expected of them.

Literary attempts of the Macedonian writers of the 19th century unfortunately did not have the result of obtaining a following, and besides, even if in the present 20th century we note certain attempts to write in Macedonian, this is not done consciously and with any patriotic motivation of goal, but only for amusement. This is the difference between our, i. e. Macedonian, spiritual-national renaissance and that of the other orthodox Slavic nations, or in other words: just as we were earlier

the first to enlighten ourselves gradually with Christianity and literacy and the other Slavs did so only after us and more rapidly, now on the other hand, at the time when all of the orthodox Slavs have gradually worked out their literary languages, rich literatures and gradually worked out orthographies, we have remained behind in all this, without literary traditions, not because we have none, but because we have forgotten our own, learning foreign ones.

It will now be necessary for us to rapidly develop our literary language, to establish our orthography and to create a national literature which will fulfill all our needs. With our current national renaissance we distinguish ourselves from the other orthodox Slavs, just as we distinguished ourselves before: then we were the first in a spiritual development which was for us slow and for them rapid, and now things are reversed; then they wished to catch up with us and worked with a certain tendency and with great speed, and now things are reversed.

The language and orthography of a nation may vary, in dependence upon how this nation has developed. If a nation only slowly develops its literary tradition and reworks it, and if in addition there are no such events in its history which divide it in half and create a gulf between one, i. e. old and the other, i. e. new half, – the literary language and the orthography will contain many features which have no actual value in the sounds of the current stage of the language. But, if in the history of the cultural development of a nation there are two periods, between which there is a third period, which is a period of stagnation and serves as impenetrable barrier between them, – then in the new period of development of national selfconsciousness we have a renaissance of the national spirit, which rests in truth upon older foundations but contains many new principles, in accordance with the spirit of the times and with the special requirements of national life and its phenomena. This renaissance is noted in the literary language and the orthography as well: the one as well as the other are more or less free of any traditions which are not in accord with the current state of the spoken language.

And thus the history of the cultural development of nations, in accordance with its course, acts: either on a purely etymological or historical orthography, or on a confused, etymological-phonetic or historical-phonetic one, or finally on a purely phonetic orthography. The three varieties of orthography depend on the greater or lesser degree of attachment to the old or the new state of a spoken or literary language. A combination of these three orthographies is characteristic of the literary language of a nation which is being reborn, and for the most part is dependent upon that tendency which predominates during the process of national renaissance.

In the same way, our orthography and the direction of our literary language must be completely dependent upon this tendency, which will guide us during our national renaissance. What sort of tendency this can be is seen from this book. But I will allow myself to repeat. It is: first, that Macedonia be neutral towards Bulgaria and Serbia and that it keep an equal distance from both states and second, that it be united on

a linguistic basis. These principles will direct the elaboration of our literary language; they will direct the orthography as well.

In accordance with these two principles are: 1) the selection of the Prilep-Bitola dialect as a literary language, since it is at the same time both far from the Bulgarian and Serbian languages and centrally located in Macedonia; 2) a phonetic orthography using the writing system of this book and with slight deviations for etymological reasons and 3) that the lexical material be gathered from all the Macedonian dialects.

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## I. Mazov

### TOWARDS THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE MACEDONIAN LITERARY LANGUAGE DURING THE NATIONAL LIBERATION STRUGGLE

#### 1. *An approach to the problem of the Macedonian literary language*

The period of the National Liberation Struggle (1941-1945) is of the greatest significance for the creation and adoption of a unified Macedonian language to be used for writing purposes. The literary activity which followed the armed warfare against the occupation forces in Macedonia during this period attained hitherto unheard of proportions and brought together the dialects of all our regions, bringing up the ever greater problem of the creation of a Macedonian literary language as one of the important features of a people belonging to a distinct nationality. As if by some unwritten law, everywhere, in regions of Skopje, Kumanovo, Štip, Tetovo, Tikveš, Bitola, a movement towards the unification of the language of this literary activity arose and gained daily in strength. The fact should be stressed that in this movement and in these efforts, even from the beginning, there were not any particular misunderstandings or any insistence in regard to which of our dialects would be used as the basis for the Macedonian literary language. The literary activity of the organizations of the Communist Party for several years before the occupation of our country, as well as the appearance of poetry by several authors in this period, had in fact already solved the problem of which dialects would be used to form the Macedonian literary language. During the time of the National Liberation Struggle this was only confirmed and path sought by which our dialects might be brought closer to each other and by which a single unified literary language might be formed. As we know, there was complete success in this respect.

The creation of our unified literary language during this period followed the path of a conscious effort by all those who wrote (announ-

cements, fliers, newspapers, poems, sketches, reports, even in the correspondence of certain leaders of the National Liberation Struggle from different districts) to write in a language which avoided features characteristic of the individual dialects. All of this was for a long time a spontaneous phenomenon, only existent in people's consciousness, not even mentioned in the numerous publications which appeared illegally in the underground or within the units of the National Liberation Army. It was as if there was no need or time for this.

The newspaper „Naš Pat“ (Our Path) is one of the first publications of the National Liberation Struggle which deals with the problem of the creation of the Macedonian literary language. In addition we find in it examples of how one should write and speak, which are Macedonian and which foreign words, published folk sayings, folksongs, etc.

This newspaper was published in the Skopje prison by political prisoners involved in the National Liberation Struggle. For the most part these were intellectuals. During the course of the year 1944 three issues were published, and it seems that no others were published besides these. The first issue does not bear the date of publication. In it is presented the article „Antinikotinci na delo“ (Antinicotinists at Work), which begins with the words „Večerta na 20-5-1944 god., vo 8 časot se održa prvata konferencija na tutundžiite od osma kelija“. (On the evening of May 20, 1944, at 8 o'clock, there was held the first conference of tobacco smokers from the eighth cell.) This indicates without doubt the approximate time when the newspaper began to be published. In the final, third issue there is found an introductory article with the title „Deneska e Ilinden“ (Today is Ilinden), which means that this issue was published on August 2, 1944.

The newspaper is written by hand with ink, in printed letters.

We mentioned earlier that „Naš Pat“ is one of the first publications from the period of the National Liberation Struggle in which there is consideration of the paths for the creation of the Macedonian literary language. We will now see how the question was dealt with in the newspaper.

In the introduction to the first issue, one can find among other things the following lines:

„I ne samo toa. Nie po sodržajo na našot vesnik go vežbame i našeto pero – se učime da pišime, a potrebata za našeto raboteće vo toj smer e nužna.“

(And not only that. Apart from the contents of our newspaper we are practicing our penmanship – we are learning to write, and the need for our activity in this direction is urgent.)

In the same issue we find a separate short note indicating the necessary „direction“ of the activity of the creation of a language. Following the example of other nations it is stated here as well that the national language should form the base from which this path will set out, and the language will be improved upon further.

„Da se učime od našata kultura, da crpime ot našata bogata narodna riznica: zboroj, komparacii, poslovici, pesni. Da rabotime nad usavršavajneto i obagatjavajneto na našot ezik“, reads this short note.

(Let us learn from our culture, that we draw from our rich national treasurehouse: words, comparison, proverbs, poems. Let us work on the perfection and the enrichment of our language.)

However, as concerns the statement of the directions of creation of the Macedonian literary language, the most interesting article is that found in the second issue of „Naš Pat“ under the title “Za naš jazik, za naša literatura!” (For our language, for our literature!)

In the beginning of this article is given a short explanation of the language in general and its significance and place in a people's life. Then it is stated:

“Blagodarenie na zapazvajneto jazikot na mak. slavjani i naličieto na drugite elementi, koj nesumnivo okažvat golem uticaj eden na drugi, na istoriskata pozornica se javuva mak. nacija, mak. nac. ezik.

Po-gore vidovme da ezikot e edno golemo postiženje, edno celo blago na čoveškiot rod. Kaj se čuvat to blago, kaj se ranit, razvivat i živet? Vo arsenalot na duhovnata kultura na čoeškiot rod. Ot tuva i izvodenot da haznata vo koj se čuva, razvivat i živet nacion. blago – našot nac. jazik – e narodnata i umetničkata literatura. Vistina, poslednava e mala no ta trgna so sigurni koraci; epopejata na herojskata borba za nac. oslobođuvajne nesumnivo kje rodit, kje se otrazit vo zarodilata se umetn. liter. i zaminit našot bogat folklor. Borbata na mak. ispolini za nac. osl. kje rodit i sozdajt pleada umetnici, koj za otrazajneto, za iznesvejneto na tije obrazi-giganti, kje bidat prinudeni, naterani da rovat vo narodnata riznica i najdat zlatni zboroj i slova za nivnoto ovekovečuvaće.

Da bi se razvila našata umetn. liter. neobhodimo nužno e da se frlime vo dlabinite na našiot naroden ezik i literatura, da gi izučime ne-gjote osobenosti fonetski, gramatički i sintaksičeski i izvlečime sotvetni zakoni. Samo taka kje sozdajme i nacion. jezik dostapen na masite: samo takva literatura (umet.) počivašta, t. e. hranešta se ot to bogatstvo kje možit da rastit, da stanit masovna, da ja izigrat progresivnata uloga koja i e nameneta, narodno rečeno, da mu gi otvorit očite na narodot“.

(Thanks to the retention of the language of the Macedonian Slavs and to the presence of other elements, which without doubt have a great influence on each other, there has appeared on the stage of history the Macedonian nation, the Macedonian national language.

We saw above that language is a great accomplishment, an entire treasure for the human race. Where is this treasure perserved, nourished, where does it develop and live? In the arsenal of the spiritual culture of the human race. From this it follows that the treasurehouse in which this national treasure – our national language – is preserved, develops and lives is folk and belletristic literature. In truth, this latter is small but it is setting out with sure steps; the epic poetry commemorating the heroic struggle for national liberation will without doubt give birth, will be reflect in a newly created belletristic literature and our rich folklore will be



surpassed. The struggle of the Macedonian giants for national liberation will give birth and will create a pleiad of artists, who, for the expression of these ideas, for the embodiment of these monumental images, will be forced, driven to the national treasurehouse and will find golden words to make themselves immortal.

In order for our national belletristic literature to develop it is inavoidably necessary for us to dive into the depths of our popular language and literature, to learn its phonetic, grammatical and syntactical features, and to discover the corresponding laws. Only in this way will we create a national language accessible to the masses: only such literature (belletristic) resting, i. e. nourishing itself on this wealth, will be able to grow, to become a mass medium, to play the progressive role meant for it, popularly speaking, to open the eyes of the people.)

The language in which this newspaper is written is distinguished by a lack of homogeneity and for the most part reflects a condition characteristic of Macedonian literature of this period – uncertainty as concerns both the forms and the orthography, and insufficiently expert knowledge of grammatical principles, as a point from which to set out in the creation of a literary language.

In the language of „Naš Pat“ there is great emphasis on certain features of the western Macedonian dialects such as:

The ending *t* in verbs in the third singular present tense (*vərvvit*, *razvivat*, *možit* etc.);

the almost regular reduction of intervocalic *v* (*zboroj*, *tatkojna*, *sekoe*, *gojdoto*, *čoeški*) and of other likewise intervocal consonants (*sozdajt*, *dajt*) with the dropping of vowels within a syllable as is the case with *tatkojna*, *gojdoto* and in other words (*ta* for *taa*, *to* for *toa*, *izvat* for *izvadat*, *ubo* etc.). In verbal nouns we frequently find *jn* for *ń* (*otrezvejneto*, *iznesvejneto*).

The language of „Naš Pat“ differs from the language which was being used during this period in brigade newspapers, in orthography as well.

Voicing assimilation of consonants is for the most part not applied and we find: *odkinati*, *robstvo*.

The sign *j* is used quite frequently and we have *nija* (for current *nie*), *je* (for *e*), *neja* (*nea*), *živejme* etc.

There is use made of the letters *ž* (š) and *ш* (št). The „back jer“ is written in place of the (current standard) sound *ə* which is a reflex of the back nasal (*mətno*, *stəpka*), before (standard) vocalic *r* between two consonants (*cərno*, *tvrđo*, *sadəržit*), as well as in words borrowed from Bulgarian (*səotvetni*). In addition to this we often find instead of *u* (ž) the combination *đk* (*dž*) (*tutundžite*), although along with *đk* we also find the sign *u* (*se vžašiv*).

The use of these signs from the Bulgarian alphabet, the carelessness in regard to voicing assimilation, as well as the use of certain Bulgarian words (*hišnik*, *počivašta*) should probably be ascribed to the influence of Bulgarian orthography on the political prisoners, exercised through Bulgarian literature, which was almost the only literature with

which they had any contact. On the other hand, this phenomenon might be explained as insufficiently expert knowledge of the language. This conclusion is supported also by the fact that in the texts of „Naš Pat“ we find many purely Serbian words (*učešće, koraci, članci*).

One should stress the fact that the use of signs from the Bulgarian alphabet is characteristic to the greatest extent of the first issue of the newspaper, whereas in the following issues they are present to a much lesser extent. In the second issue *z* is not used before vocalic *r* but only as the reflex of the Old Church Slavonic back nasal, whereas in the third issue it is rarely found even as a reflex of the nasal. The reason for this should probably be sought in attempts to unify the language with that used in publications of the partisan units and the underground, whose members were at this time entering the prisons in ever greater numbers.

The orthography of all three issues of „Naš Pat“ shows the use of signs from the Serbian alphabet: *ћ* (ć) and *đ* (đ) everywhere, and occasionally *љ* (љ) and *њ* (њ). Sometimes we find *kj* (kje) and *gj* (megju).

As a reflex of older *h* we find everywhere *v* and not *f* (*se vžašiv, se saštisav*).

For the preposition *od*, as in the brigade newspapers, we usually find the spelling with *t* (*ot*).

As an illustration, here is a sample of the language in the editors introduction to the first issue of „Naš Pat“:

„Nie sme vremeno odkinati od denešnata borba. Nie vremeno ne će možime da zemime aktivno učešće vo neja. No nie živejme so neja – so nejnite uspehi i poraženija – nie se radvame i vervame, a znaejeni i nezaboravajki nikoj pat da sme sinoj na našata porobena tatkojna. I vo našata bezgranična lubov – nie ete se najdvame tuka kade ne bi sakal nikoj da e.

I nije živejme život so tvrda vera i nepokoleban duh da ke dojt den koga pak ke možime da se stavime vo aktivna služba na svojo narod. Deneska koga se koe idninata na Makedonija, deneska koga se vodit najgolemijot boj megju silite na mrakot i svetlinata, napredokot i reakcijata – sloboda i robstvoto – nie ne možime da ne pomislime na utrešnicata. Za ta utrešnica vo koja trebit i nie da zemime udel. Mislejki za neja treba da se gotvime.

„Naš Pat“ se pojavitivat da e popolnit edna praznina vo našijov život. Negovo pole na rabota ke bide neograničeno. Ke sadəržit članci po politički, umetnički, prosvetni i dr. prašaša. Taka da so svojot sadəržaj toj ke se približit i svržit najtesno so site drugari – polit. zatvoreniči. Vo nego site treba da najdime to što ne interesuvat i to što predstavjat centar vo našijot život. A da stanit blizok, razberliv i interesanten – treba site da stanime negoj saradnici.“ Etc.

(We are temporarily cut off from todays struggle. We are temporarily unable to take an active part in it. But we live with it – with its successes and defeats – we rejoice and we have faith, and knowing and never forgetting that we are sons of our enslaved fatherland. And in our boundless love – here we are, where no one would wish to be.

And we live life with the firm conviction and unswerving faith that there will come a day when we can once again enter into the active service of our nation. Today, while the future of Macedonia is being forged, today when the greatest battle is being waged between the forces of darkness and light, progress and reaction – freedom and slavery – we can not help but think of tomorrow. Of that tomorrow in which we too should take part. Thinking of it, we should prepare ourselves.

„Naš Pat“ is appearing in order to fill an emptiness in our life. Its field of activity will be unbounded. It will contain articles on political, artistic, educational and other questions. So that its contents will be brought together and bound tightly all friends – political prisoners. In it we should all find what interests us and what represents the center of our life. And in order for it to become close, understandable and interesting – we should all become its collaborators.)

In „Naš Pat“ are found some language examples, rarer words from the folk language, proverbs, folksongs and artistic poetry.\*

## 2. *The Macedonian literary language during the years of the National Liberation Struggle in the Kumanovo region*

The development of literary activity during the years of the National Liberation Struggle in the Kumanovo region is interesting for several reasons. This is an area which includes a part of the northern border regions of Macedonia, whose dialect differs in many features from our other dialects and is rather far removed from the contemporary standard Macedonian literary language. Because of this, the process of borrowing elements from our central dialect, which would serve as the basis for our literary language, standardized on the whole during the National Liberation Struggle, is particularly interesting in the case of the Kumanovo region.

The difference between the Kumanovo and the other Macedonian dialects and its lesser resemblance to our contemporary literary language gives reason for a movement towards the adoption of the literary language to be stronger than in our other regions, and at the same time for taking greater care that elements of the local dialect be present in the smallest possible amount. Therefore, nowhere else as in the case of Kumanovo is there so much truth in the generalization that localisms in our literary language are more jealously guarded in those areas whose dialects are closer to the contemporary Macedonian literary language, where less effort is made to adopt it. The difference in the language of the literary activity which developed in parallel with the armed conflicts during the years of the National Liberation Struggle, between the language at the beginning of the period and that at its end, is nowhere as great and noticeable as in the Kumanovo region. This fact, of course, speaks for a positive phenomenon which is characteristic for the creation of our literary language.

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\* This section of the article is abbreviated by the omission of illustrative material. *Translator's note.*

I have at hand several documents from the Kumanovo region which date from the period of the National Liberation Struggle. Judging from the dates when they were written, they cover the entire period. They are: the journals „Dedo Ivan“ (Grandfather John), the organ of the local organization of the Communist Party in 1941, „Oktobris“ (Oktobrist), published in 1942 by the same organization, „Ogin“ (Fire), organ of the Third Macedonian Brigade from the beginning of 1944, „Glas na slobodata“ (The Voice of Freedom), organ of the Kumanovo partisan detachment in the same year, the correspondence between various leaders of the National Liberation Struggle from 1943 to 1944, reports, summons, letters of greeting and others. All of these documents are now located in the archives of the Historical Division of the Central Committee of the Union of Communists of Macedonia.

The language of the documents of 1941 and 1942, that is in the journals „Dedo Ivan“ and „Oktobris“, show on the whole features characteristic of the literary activity of all of our regions at that time. The language is almost exclusively based upon local dialects. This is of course a consequence of the fact that before this period the literary activity of the Communist Party of Macedonia had not attained such proportions as to spread a standardized language into all of our regions, and that this literary activity, as was the case earlier, was carried out for the uses of the struggle which was being waged under the leadership of the Communist Party. The struggle against the occupying forces was at that time just beginning, and in order to be understood more easily, it was necessary that articles published in newspapers or proclamations distributed as fliers be written in a language which was closer to that of the population of the area, that is to the local dialect.

This conclusion is supported by the fact that even in the spoken language of many leaders of the National Liberation Struggle, who published the newspapers and fliers, there were many elements which had already made their way into the literary activity in many of our regions. This is seen most clearly in accentuation (which was very close to that of our contemporary literary language), in the pronunciation of the sound *v* or *f* in the aorist, in the acceptance of the preposition *vo* instead of *u*, etc.

On the other hand the insufficient literacy, and especially insufficient linguistic education of these people, meant that the problem of unification of the language of the literary activity as a whole in the territory of the present-day Republic of Macedonia could not be solved with greater efficiency or more quickly.

Retention of the pure Kumanovo dialect in „Dedo Ivan“ and „Oktobris“ is all the more obvious in that it is characterized by certain elements which are not present in our other dialects. The articles and other essays in these two journals have all the characteristics of the Kumanovo dialect.

Feminine nouns ending in *a* in the singular are always found with a plural in *e* („... pregazi jednu po jednu mnogo slavjanski zemné“, „Dedo Ivan“, issue 3, September 15, 1941).

Neuter nouns ending in *e* in the singular form their plural in *ińa* („Široki i leborodni sa ńojni *polińa*“ – „Oktobris“, issue 4–5, October, 1942) and less often in *a* („Preko plodni gevgeliski pol'a“ – „Dedo Ivan“, issue 3, September 15, 1941). It is interesting that the plural form in *iki* for the same nouns is never used.

The back nasal has the reflex *u* (*kude*).

Feminine substantives in *a* have a *casus generalis* in *u* („*Ednu noć pol-cka došle od šumu u selo*“ – „Dedo Ivan“, issue 3, Sept. 15, 1941, from the essay „*Kako se boreše beloruske žene protiv fašizam*“ (How the White-Russian Women Fought Against Fascism).

Syllabic *l* becomes *u* or *lə* („žut“, *dl-go*“).

The feminine demonstrative pronoun is *taj*, *onaj*, *ovaj* („*Onaj plodna Makedonija... taj je Makedonija porobena*“ – „Dedo Ivan“, issue 3, from the article „*Denešna i utrešna Makedonija*“ (Macedonia today and tomorrow).

There is use of the schwa vowel *ə*, written with the sign „–“ as in *t-j*, *ov-j*, *d-n*, *k-d*, *t-ga*, *pol-cka*, *dl-go*, *sl-za* etc. (*K-d*, meaning „when“, *t-ga* „then“, differ from standard Macedonian *koga*, *togaš* in other ways as well. *Translator's note*).

The first person plural present tense ending is – *mo* („*Na ním će zablagodarimo* za toj što oni će ni pomognev da pobrgo i poskoro *zdrobimo* bande na krvav i razbojnički fašizam.“ – „Dedo Ivan“, issue 3).

The third person plural present tense ending is, for the three verbal classes, *av*, *ev*, and *iv* (*pláčkav*, *se boriv*, *razbijev*) and the first person singular ends in *u* (*kažuju*).

The use of articles is quite rare. We find it only in the pronoun *svite* (all the) („*Od položenje na svite frontovi*“; „*Svite tija počnava na svite strane*“), once in the adjective *krvolochen* („*Smrt na krvolochenju fašizam*“ from the article „*Denešna i utresna Makedonija*“ in „Dedo Ivan“, issue 3) and never with nouns.

The past tenses most often use third plural forms in *va* (*trgnava*, *dojdova*, *vrativa*) and more rarely in *sva* (*problačasva*, *grabesva*). The ending *ja* is used only in one spot („*I tuj se s-ga obrazovaja front*“ – „Dedo Ivan“, issue 3).

In transcription, there are used among others the Serbian letters *ć* (ć), *đ* (đ), *љ* (l'), and *њ* (ń), and the schwa vowel is written with the sign „–“ (ed-n, s-k, s-ga, d-n). In „*Oktobris*“ we find also the (Bulgarian) letters *ш* (št) and *я* (ja) („*шо zboriv onia koji beva u Germaniju za Hitlerov raj*“).

The letter *t* is never written at the end of feminine nouns which originally ended in *st* (*prošlos*, *čes*, *koris*, etc.).

The following two texts will serve as an example of the language of 1941 and 1942:

„*Lud Hitler sproveduvajće onoj što je pisal u svoju krvavu knigu „Moja borba“, da sa Slavjani dubre i opredeleni za robovi na germanski fašisti, pregazi jednu po jednu mnogo slavjanski zemne. Mnogo slavjanski narodi bidnava robovi na germanski fašisti, ali sve toj mu beše malko, za toj što ostana golema slavjanska Rusija, koja gi je do s-ga na*

svite slavjanski narodi pomagala k-da sa ovija bile u teško, za što gu Slavjani sas pravo narečeva majka na slavjanstvoto". (From the article „Slavjanska je pobeda“ [The victory belongs to the Slavs] in „Dedo Ivan“, issue 3).

„Krasna je i ubava makedonska zemna. Visoki i golemi sa njoj planine, po koji se za dl-go vreme kriesva borci za slobodnu Makedoniju. Široki i leborodni sa njoj poljna po koji se kako more l'ul'a žito, alt-n žut tutun, veleško-skopski afion, kočanski oris, strumički pamuk. Makedonija zemna isprskana sas krv na njoj najarni sinovi – Makedonija zaednička tatkovina na porobeni od fašisti makedonski, turski, arnautski, vlaški, cincarski narodi, taj Makedonija rodi i iščuva verni branitel'i na njojnu čas i ime, apostoli na njojno osloboduvaće“. (From „Otvoreno pismo do izmećara na bugarski fašiski okupatori, vrhoviskoga vojvodu Krstu Koňuškoga“ [Open letter to the lackey of the Bulgarian fascist occupying forces, the commander Krsto Koňuškij] in „Oktobris“, issue 4-5, October 1942).

(Mad Hitler, putting into practice the ideas written in his bloody book "Mein Kampf", that the Slavs are trash and meant to be slaves of the German fascists, has trampled one by one many Slavic nations. Many Slavic nations have become slaves of the German fascist, but all this means little to him, because great Slavic Russia has remained, and has until now helped all the Slavic nations when they were in trouble, for which the Slavs rightfully call her the mother of Slavdom.)

(Lovely and beautiful is the Macedonian land. High and large are its mountains, in which those fighting for a free Macedonia have long been hiding. Wide and fertile are its fields, on which there waves an ocean of grain, golden yellow tobacco, Veles-Skopje opium poppies, Kočani rice, Strumica cotton. The Macedonian land sprinkled with the blood of its best sons – Macedonia the common fatherland of all its nationalities enslaved by the fascists, Macedonians, Turks, Albanians, Arumanians, Meglenorumanians, this Macedonia gives birth to and brings up faithful defenders of its honor and name, apostols of its freedom.)

An exception to the practice of writing in the local dialect is found only in the article "Za makedonsko selo" (About the Macedonian village), published in the third issue of "Dedo Ivan". The language used in this article differs in many ways from that of Kumanovo and is similar to our other dialects.

Articles are used almost everywhere and for the most part correctly. The masculine singular article is usually in the incomplete form (with *o* versus standard *ot*), as in *narodo*, *položajo*, *kapitalizmo*, *srpskio narod*. However, we find also forms such as *selanot*, *selanecot*.

The third person plural present ends in *at* (*izranat*, *snižavat*, *vidat*, etc.) and the first person plural in *me* (*znajeme*, *prašame*) but also sometimes in *mo* (*imamo*, *čekamo*, *zboremo*). The third person plural past tenses have *v* or *h* (*beha*, *zbiraha*, *dojdova*, *prisvojiva*).

The reflexive pronoun is usually placed after the verb (*održavat se*). There are no cases of double objects in the accusative. ("Ima vo sekoj

srez komisari koji odreduvati *cenite*"; "Našite selaci snižavati *svoite potrebi*"; "Samo zajedno so rabotnicite selacite će popravati *svojo položaj*").

Elsewhere in the article we find features of the Kumanovo dialect, as for example: "Ete takva slobodata što *gu dobiva* selacite ot novite "osloboditeli"; "Dokle ne se *uredev* prilikite". This suggests that the author of the article is most likely from Kumanovo, and is further support of the idea that the adoption of a single common Macedonian language appears earlier in speech than in writing, and that the usage of local dialects in the literary activity of our National Liberation Struggle was frequently the result of a need to be understood by the local population rather than of how to write in a less local language.

This is supported also by the correspondence between the leaders of the National Liberation Struggle in the Kumanovo region, and by their reports to the leaders of Macedonia. In these documents the language is much closer to that of the so-called central dialect, which was being used at this time for literary activity of the National Liberation Struggle throughout Macedonia.

At the present time we have no information concerning the existence of newspapers from Kumanovo during 1943. The correspondence of this period remains the only documentation for the development of the written language in this region.

As we mentioned above, the language used by the Kumanovo leaders of the National Liberation Struggle in correspondence and reports is much closer to the written language in use at the time throughout Macedonia. This is the time when the National Liberation Struggle in Macedonia attains greater proportions, when contacts between the central leadership and the leaders in the provinces increase. Along with this literary activity, which follows the armed struggle against the occupying forces, grows markedly in volume. This is the time of the appearance of the famous Manifesto of the Headquarters of the NOV and POM in Macedonia, which in respect to purity of the language in which it is written shows noticeable progress, and the time of the start of publication of journals by our first brigades, in which, besides articles, there are published reports and sketches from the life and battles of the partisans, in which we can discern a striving towards the improvement and unification of the language. The Manifesto and these journals which make their way to Kumanovo as well, as other documents of the Headquarters, are of the greatest significance for the correct orientation in the reception and practice in using the language which we find in the correspondence and later in the newspapers in the Kumanovo region.

The example below of a report, signed Ranko, (actually written by Metodija Antevski), addressed to the higher command, bearing the date January 1, 1944, shows what progress has been made in this respect. Here is an excerpt from this report:

"Jas pak sleznaф vo grado u najgolema reakcija. Inače vezata imaše da se vremeno prekine.

Može bi vi e i na vas izvestno oti fašistite otpočnava organizovana akcija protiv partizani. Snagata so kojato otpočnava akcija ot Kumanovo ne e golema. Otidova okolu 300 konika, 2 batal'ona vojska koja se navoda u Kumanovo (dva batal'ona sa ošte vo grado) i 200-300 policija. Okolo 300-400 policija se navoda vo samio grad. Vojskava zamina u tri pravca po glavni patišta i ima za zadatak da razčisti tereno od partizani za da se uspostavi nanovo razrušena vlast u toja kraj, koja će ja branat policiji što sa došle vo grado. (Policaji sa novi i mobilisani). Znači posle vojska će zaminat i tija. Vi prakjam letok što go aeroplani puštava vo naštite sela...

...Megju 25 i 26.XII.44 g. diverziona grupa digna pruga vo vozduh megju Romanovci-Miladinovci. Saobraćaj beše obustaven za 14 sata. Akcija u potpunosti ne uspea zašto vozo ostana čitav i zakasnitelna mina beše otkriena i izvadena na vreme”.

(I went down again into the city, which was in a state of greatest reaction. Otherwise the connection would have been temporarily severed.

Maybe it is known to you that the fascists have begun an organized action against the partisans. The force with which they have begun the action from Kumanovo is not great. They set off with about 300 horsemen, 2 battalions of soldiers which were located in Kumanovo (2 battalions are still in the city) and 200-300 police. About 300-400 police are located in the city itself. This army set out in three directions along the main roads and has as its assignment to clean the terrain of partisans in order to reestablish power, once again cut off, in this area, which will be defended by police who have entered the city. (The police are new and mobilized). This means that they will set out after the army. I am sending you a flier which airplanes have dropped into our villages...

... Between December 25 and 26, 1944, a diversionary group destroyed the track between Romanovci and Miladinovci. Traffic was cut off for 14 hours. The action did not succeed fully because the train remained whole and the time bomb was discovered and removed on time).

As we can see, even here, despite the obvious progress which is expressed especially in the use of the article, word order, the use of tenses and certain words, this text is not yet completely free of elements of the Kumanovo dialect. This is seen primarily in the inconsistency in the use of articles, word order, retention of *v* in the simple past tenses, etc. There is also a certain influence from the Bulgarian language. But, in any case we are immediately struck by the efforts to eliminate features of the Kumanovo dialect and to bring the language closer to that of the literary activity as a whole in Macedonia at that time, in which efforts indisputable results were achieved.

We are struck also by the use of the shorter form of the masculine article for nouns ending in a consonant. This is a characteristic also of the language of written documents from our other regions at this time, and is certainly the result of a tacit agreement which was in force at the time.



One should realize that the example presented here is from a letter written before the arrival in the Kumanovo-Kozjak massive territory of a part of the Headquarters of the NOV and POM and the group of partisans from western Macedonia, after which the process of adoption of the central Macedonian dialect attained particularly great proportions. The presence of these partisans and others who came later, and especially the literary activity of the Headquarters and the leadership of certain other organizations had particular influence in this respect. The first numbers appear of „Ilindenski pat” (The Ilinden Path), „Mlad borec” (Young Warrior) and some highly significant proclamations, meetings are held in the liberated territory, etc.

This activity of course contributed to the intensification of the process of freeing the language from local dialectisms and to the adoption of the literary Macedonian language, which by this time already was spreading rapidly. Now this language was not prevailing only in speech, but in the literary activity of this region as well. The local newspapers of this period do not differ in their language from the newspapers of the other areas of Macedonia. Such is the case for example with „Ogin” (Fire), the organ of the Third Macedonian Brigade, which operated in the Kumanovo region. The language of „Ogin” is no different from that of „Bratstvo” (Brotherhood), of „Narodna borba” (National Struggle), the organs of the First and Second Brigades, or from the organs of the central organizations of political leadership, such as „Ilindenski pat”, „Mlad borec” and others.

If the language of „Ogin” is not sufficient proof of the degree to which our already existent literary language had progressed in Kumanovo, since some of the editors and writers were not from Kumanovo, the same problem does not exist in the case of another newspaper of this period. This is „Glas na slobodata” (The Voice of Freedom”), which appeared in the first half of 1944 as the organ of the Kumanovo partisan detachment.

Here are two citations from two articles published in the second issue of this newspaper, which bears the date May 15, 1944.

In the introduction, dedicated to May First, we read:

„Kako i sekoja tak a ovaja godina rabotničkata klasa, rabotnio narod ot celio svet, pa i našio makedonski raboten narod, proslavi svojo najgolem praznik 1 maj – den na rabotata, den na rabotnička sloga, i den na borba na rabotnio narod...”

(As every other year, this year too the working class, the working people of the whole world and our Macedonian working people celebrate their greatest holiday May 1, the day of work, the day of workers' solidarity, and the day of struggle of the working nation...)

Speaking of how the detachment celebrated May 1, the article continues:

„Proslavi go daleko ot svoite rabotilnici, tutunovite skladovi, rudnici, ot svoeto ralo i motika, kancelarijata itn., a so stisnata puška vo raci so koja nemilosrdno boj bie so krvavio germanski okupator i negovi izmećari bugarski krvnici. Proslavi go na svojata tatkovina – slobodna

teritorija ot koja beše izbrkan okupatorot so krv na najarnite sinovi na našio narod."

(It celebrated it far from its workshops, tobacco storehouses, mines, from its plow and hoe, office etc., and firmly clutching in its hands the rifle with which it pitilessly wages battle with the bloody German invader and its lackies the Bulgarian executioners. It celebrated it in its fatherland, a free territory from which the invader was expelled by the blood of the finest sons of our nation.)

The description of a meeting of villagers from seventeen villages bearing the title „Na partizanska ravnina” (On the Partisan Plain) begins:

„Rano maisko utro. Istok crvenee. Zad visokite dalečni planinski vrvoj tržestveno tiho se rađa denot. Podgonena i kapnala mesečinata zatulata nekade među male oblačiña i božem ita da ne bi ja stignale prve slnčevi zraci.

Partizanite od kumanoskiot odred u kolona po eden brzajat nekade seloto. Kolonata kako ogromna zmija se vija među svežo-zelenite od den-dva razlistani drva i lazi po kadifenata zelena trava i stigne do prve kukički.”

(Early May morning. The east is growing red. Behind the high distant mountain peaks the day is being born, in solemn silence. The pursued and exhausted moon has wandered off somewhere among small clouds and is hurrying frantically so that the first rays of the sun might not overtake it.

The partisans from the Kumanovo detachment hurry in single file towards the village. The column like a huge snake winds its way among the fresh green of the trees, which have come into leaf in the past day or two, and crawls along the velvet green grass and arrives at the first huts.)

Characteristic for this text is that one can still find to some extent the inconsistent use of the article and the determined use of the incomplete masculine article. In addition, especially in regard to the former, it differs from the texts of the other partisan publications of this time.

In the summons of the headquarters of the Kumanovo partisan detachment to the populace of this region, dated July 1, 1944, we find an exception to this practice. It is written in the Kumanovo dialect with small admixtures of elements of our other dialects. There are certain deviations from the language of Kumanovo, such as: rather strong use of articles („da svite koi se kriyat po gradovi i sela”; „A sas toj i kraj na izmećarite mu kako što je faš. Bugarija”), 3rd pl. *padat* instead of *padav* („Svaki dan padat novi i novi gradovi i sela”), *pobedi* instead of *pobede* (fem. pl.), and *na Makedonija* instead of *na Makedoniju* cas. gen. („Narodno-osloboditelna vojska i partizanski odredi na Makedonija den uz den pečaliv golemi i golemi pobedi”). In the same example one can see that the from *den* is used instead of Kumanovo *d-n*.

I think that we will be closer to the truth if we agree that the above deviations in this otherwise purely Kumanovo dialect text are due mainly to the habit already developed by the authors of the text to use

the common Macedonian language, rather than to an attempt to use as many elements as possible from the common language in this text, as was being done in other literary activity. There is obviously the intention here (and this is seen also from the character of the summons in which the people are called upon to join the national-liberation units) of using the local dialect in order to make the summons as accessible as possible to the populace, and in this manner to achieve greater success in its political goals.

The same holds for the materials which were published by organized forums and in which there are greater possibilities for the adoption of a unified Macedonian language and its fixation as a higher literary form.

The striving is somewhat more than this. The use of many elements of our other dialects is found in other documents as well, the authors of which are people from varied social classes, which tells us that the problem of adoption and creation of a single unified language had already progressed quite far.

Here are a few examples of this:

On August 14, 1944, nine villagers from various villages send from a joint assembly a letter „to comrade deputy of Marshal Tito” with the following contents:

„Mi narodnata vlast od terenot ve povikuvame dnes da i vie dojde na našio zbor koga mije stvaramo narodni oslobodilački odbori i da iskažemo našijot odanost i našata privrženost za našata narodna vlasta na Makedonija.”

(We the popular government of the terrain invite you today to come to our assembly when we are creating national liberation divisions, and (we wish) to state our devotion and our loyalty to our popular government of Macedonia).

At the head of the signatures of the villagers is that of Teodosije Markovski from the village Pelince, by whose hand the letter has been written.

The „deputy of Marshal Tito” received on August 17 of the same year a letter from the Regional Assembly of AFŽ (Antifascist Women's Front):

„U ime na Sreski antifašističeski front na ženi Ve molime da dojdite na zbor što go priredujemo u zajednicu so narodno osloboditelnite odbori da bi ja pokažale našata odanos i pravrženos na vrhovni komandant – drugarot Tito i nova demokratska federativna Jugoslavija. Za Sreski odbor na A.F.Ž. Vena.

(In the name of the District Antifascist Womens Front we ask you to come to the assembly which we are organizing in collaboration with the national liberation divisions that we might show our devotion and loyalty to the supreme commandant – comrade Tito and the new democratic federative Yugoslavia. For the District division of the AFŽ Vena.)

The headquarters of the Kumanovo military area sent a report on August 30, 1944, to the Headquarters of the NOV of Macedonia with the following text:

„Izvestuvame ve po kažuvaње на луѓе, кој са пристигнали нокеска от Куманово да се civilното Бугарско насеље иселува преку Куманово од Македонија. Бугарите си одат сопството кој што може да понесе, со куфери, торбици и др. Автомобили нема да тешат по Куманово и тешат превозно средство не питајќи за цена да бидат превезени до Гиџево. Исто така освен чиновничите замини преку Куманово и некоја група авијатичари од Скопје и полиција.“

(We inform you, according to the statements of people who arrived last night from Kumanovo, that the civil population of Bulgarians is leaving Macedonia by way of Kumanovo. The Bulgarians are going each with whatever he can carry, with suitcases, bags, etc. Automobiles are not to be found, and they are running about Kumanovo and looking for transportation, not asking about the price, in order to be driven to Guišev. Likewise, apart from officials, there have passed through Kumanovo a group of aviators from Skopje and policemen.)

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## B. Koneski

### THE MACEDONIAN LANGUAGE IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SLAVIC LITERARY LANGUAGES

1. It will be highly instructive for us Macedonians, a nation which has succeeded in forming its own literary language only within the last decades, to know what were in general the basic characteristics of the development of the literary languages in the Slavic world. It will be instructive especially because of the fact that we will find in this development a number of analogies to what has happened in our own case, and because we will be able to note certain regularities where it might otherwise seem that a certain phenomenon exists only as a result of our particular situation.

2. There are at present twelve modern Slavic literary languages. These are: in the eastern group – Russian, Ukrainian, and White Russian, in the western group – Polish, Czech, Slovak, Upper Sorbian and Lower Sorbian (or Upper and Lower Lusatian) and in the southern group – Slovene, Serbo-Croatian, Macedonian, and Bulgarian.

An attempt to form a Kashubian literary language (the Kashubians live in Poland on the Baltic Sea) led only to the creation of a regional literature, without all the characteristics of a cultural activity which strives towards the affirmation of a distinct national consciousness.

All of these literary languages are the result of regular historical processes. There are, however, significant differences between them, in

respect to the size of the community using the given language and the functions which it performs, as well as in respect to the degree of their standardization. The Russian language, for example, serves a multimillion community and in recent times is becoming more and more important as a world language, whereas on the other hand the Sorbian languages are used by a hundred thousand people and that in a bilingual situation, in which the use of the German language is constantly on the rise. Of course there is no automatic relationship between the size of a linguistic community and degree of linguistic standardization and the affirmation, through the relevant cultural phenomena, of its literary language. We can easily find examples of this with in the Slavic linguistic group. All these remarks concern, first, a specific situation, that of the present, which is by no means static, and second, the external environment in which these separate languages function, and are not an evaluation of their structural qualities.

3. It is well known that the Slavs were first given literature in their own language during the second half of the 9th century. Old Church Slavonic, the first literary language of the Slavs, was used, after the mission of Cyril and Methodius and their disciples, among both West and South Slavs, and afterwards transmitted to the East Slavs. However it was only for a short time that this language had a chance to establish itself as a language of the literature of all the medieval Slavic nations. The battle between Constantinople and Rome, which led to a schism between the two churches, had among other consequences the effect of early dividing of the Slavic world between Orthodoxy and Catholicism.

Thus split into two spheres, each with its own separate religious, political and cultural characteristics, the Slavs were subject to differing influences on the development of the language of their literature as well. In the Catholic sphere, Old Church Slavonic was soon banished from the West Slavic area. It was retained only among the Croatian "glagolashes".\* On the other hand, among the Orthodox Slavs this language, in its different variants or recensions, remained as a common literary language almost to the beginning of the 19th century.

4. Such a linguistic situation could not help but influence the development of the modern Slavic languages as well. The Church Slavonic tradition was strongest in Russia, which from the 14th century onwards became an ever stronger state. On the other hand, this tradition could not be maintained to the same degree among the Orthodox Slavs in the Balkans, because they had lost their statehood and had long been subject to Turkish rule. When in the 18th century, under Peter the Great, the framework was laid for the creation of the modern Russian literary language, it was natural for its structure to include a number of Church Slavonic elements. This was an expected outcome of the above-mentioned tradition. The modern Russian literary language was created, first

\* Native priests using the glagolitic script and Slavic language in church services.  
Translator's note.

choose a dialect basis, but rather to bring to life and to perfect that form of the literary language which had already been created in the past.

Thus we may state that three contemporary Slavic literary languages had been formed before the 19th century – Russian, Polish and Czech. (We must however keep in mind here that the last of these represents a new attempt to establish the continuity of a literary language of the past). All the other Slavic literary languages were formed during the last two centuries. It is natural that there should be more or less influence on the process of their formation from those Slavic literary languages already in existence. Still more important is the fact that, as we will see, for most of them the existence of already formed Slavic literary languages had a significant effect on their development as independent literary languages. All of these phenomena were furthermore dependent on historical processes which led to the creation of the contemporary Slavic nations, because a literary language is in the modern world one of the essential means of constituting a national unit.

5. Unlike Russian, Polish and Czech, other modern Slavic literary languages, created since the 18th century, had to be formed on a new dialect basis. Thus Serbo-Croatian is based on the Hercegovina dialects, Bulgarian on eastern dialects, Slovak on central dialects, Macedonian on central dialects, etc. In none of these cases do we have the introduction of a pure dialect type as the basis of the literary language, but rather the selection to a greater or lesser extend of features of a wider speech area. Combining the features of several dialects is for example characteristic of the Slovene literary language and is due to the great dialect differentiation of the Slovene linguistic territory, such that a single dialect could not be proscribed decisively. However it may be, these languages are marked by a greater similarity to contemporary popular speech than is the case for languages which continue in some way a longer literary tradition. The history of the creation of these languages, including Macedonian, shows us that the selection of their dialect basis can not be arbitrary, but that it is conditioned by a number of factors of objective character in the process of national consolidation of the given nation. The dominant role is played here by economic and cultural centers, which are particularly significant in this process and contribute especially to the breakdown of regional divisions by the gradual creation of a feeling for supradialectal linguistic bonds within a national unit. Of course it makes some difference whether a dialect type has enough features characteristic for the given language. Thus the attempt of Anton Bernolák, at the end of the 18th century, to create a Slovak literary language based on west Slovak dialects, did not succeed, one reason, among others, being that this basis was too close to the Czech language. It should be noted that when a literary language has once been created, it functions as a specific structure which can not be treated as any single dialect and which in many respects follows its own path of further development.

6. In addition to the selection of a dialect basis, contact with a language or languages of a higher culture is a particularly important fac-

tor in the development of new literary languages. The effect of this factor is quite naturally felt in the process of formation of the Slavic literary languages. The language of a more advanced culture helps the new literary language to develop more rapidly all those means of expression which it requires for carrying out its function in modern society.

Considering this question in detail, with attention paid to every Slavic language, would carry us far afield, for such influences are manifold. It is enough to give an overview of the matter and to emphasize some of its more significant aspects. In the western sphere primarily Latin and later German were those languages manifesting such influence. Contact with German was natural inasmuch as most of the Slavic nations in this sphere lived within the borders of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. In the eastern sphere Church Slavonic and later Russian had a significant influence on the formation of the contemporary Slavic literary languages. Of course the degree of this influence varied in each case, in both extent and force. Leaving aside the East Slavic languages, within the South Slavic group this influence was stronger for Bulgarian than for Serbo-Croatian.

This influence could be direct or indirect. Thus Church Slavonic had a direct effect upon the form of the Macedonian literary language at the beginning of the past century. Russian influence, on the other hand, reached Macedonia for the most part indirectly through Bulgarian, and to a lesser extent, through Serbian. In addition to this radiation, which covers a fairly wide cultural sphere, we have influences of more limited scope, which are also a normal phenomenon. For example, contacts with both Serbo-Croatian and Bulgarian affected the formation of the Macedonian literary language in that certain elements of these two languages have been adopted by the latter. The contact between Russian on the one hand and Ukrainian and White Russian is still more extensive.

Contact with a prestige language is such an essential factor in the process of formation of new literary languages that its effect is sometimes found even where at first glance it might not be suspected. Thus several Slavic languages of the western sphere show a marked tendency towards the derivation of new, domestic words, where in these cases other languages use international words. If in Czech or Slovak we find the word *dějiny* or *dejiny*, in Slovene *zgodovina*, in Croatian *povijest*, we can not satisfactorily explain why these languages avoid using an international word of the type (*h*)*istorija* unless we take into account the fact that in German it is usual in this situation to employ the domestic word *Geschichte* instead of an international word. We have in this only one example of how the lexicon of one language is structured according to models which it takes from a prestige language. Many of those features which separate the Croatian from the Serbian variant of the Serbo-Croatian literary language are due directly to the differing stimuli which these languages encountered in interlanguage contacts. If one does not realize this, one gains a false idea of the causes of differentiation in a number of concrete cases. On the other hand, this example taken from the case of Serbo-Croatian is sufficient to illustrate that the stimuli

mentioned combine within a language territory and that the division which we have made should not be understood schematically.

We have shown the importance to the development of a new literary language of contact with the language of a higher culture and of those positive stimuli which result from such contact. However, the question has another angle. The position of the prestige language may be so strong that in certain historical situations it may act as a deterrent to the full affirmation of a new literary language. Thus, for example, in Croatia and Slovenia in the past century the influence of the German language was so strong within the circle of the intelligentsia that the literary language based on the speech of the populace had a difficult time in coming into its own. „In almost every house of our Croatian cities – writes Mirko Bogović in 1852 – you will hear no word other than a German one. Men and women, when appearing in public, speak only in German, business affairs seem simpler to most people when carried out in German, the same amusements more pleasing – if only they are inspired by the German language and spirit. The most noble human sentiments are expressed in German. Our marvelously lovely girls and women, when they pray to God in church, do so in German and from German prayer books.“ The situation in Slovenia is described by E. Kardelj as follows: „Slovene was a „popular language“, and German and Italian – languages of the intelligentsia. This Slovene language was adopted as a spoken language of the middle classes by the time of literary societies, in the sixties and seventies of the 19th century“ (*Razvoj slovenačkog nacionalnog pitaњa* (The development of the Slovene National Question), Beograd, 1958, p. 212). Of course in both these cases cultural domination combined with and was supported by practical political actions of Vienna and Budapest, designed to hinder the independent national development of these South Slavic lands.

As we mentioned earlier, the influence of the Russian language upon Ukrainian and White Russian is especially strong. Russian is used to a great extend in cities as a colloquial language. The linguistic situation is so structured that it serves as a sort of filter between peasant speech and the literary language. In the development of the Macedonian literary language as well, contact with prestige languages played and still plays a definite role. Still it must be noted that there is a difference in that the prestige of these languages, Greek, Bulgarian and Serbo-Croatian, was never as great as in the previously discussed cases, for the simple reason that these languages themselves were still developing throughout the last hundred and fifty years.

7. Throughout the past two centuries the process of formation of the modern Slavic literary languages exhibited convergence and divergence, reflecting the varied conditions under which the national development of the Slavic nations took place.

Essential differences appear in the history of the Slavic nations in these two centuries. For a long period Russia was the only independent Slavic state, while among the South Slavs only two groups succeeded in creating their own states (Serbia and Bulgaria) in the course of the 19th

century, and the other groups, as was the case with the West Slavs, belonged to states dominated by nations speaking other languages, up until the end of the First World War.

This historical reality is directly reflected in the development of the Slavic literary languages, especially as concerns divergent and convergent tendencies in this development.

In tsarist Russia movements towards the formation of the Ukrainian and White Russian literary languages did not only meet with support from the progressive forces of Russian society, but also with an unambiguous resistance and pressure on the part of the autocracy. Thus in the period from 1867 to 1905 it was strictly forbidden to publish scholarly or publicistic works in Ukrainian. Only belletristic literature was allowed, and that mainly in Russian orthography. The tsar's power interfered with the printing of books in White Russian as well, a language which had in the past century started to develop as a modern literary language, and even forbid the use of the term White Russia (1840). Only the October Revolution granted them the privilege of being used as independent literary languages and made it possible to establish for them grammatical and orthographic norms. The autocracy defended the position of a single Russian nation which should have a single literary language, and accorded Ukrainian and White Russian the status of dialects. Such an approach is typical and is always found under similar historical conditions, such as was the case also in Macedonia. What happens is that an organized state power, with unitaristic aims, hinders the national affirmation of nations which are in the process of forming their own national consciousness. This power wishes to present such a process as an attempt, at destruction, as an unreasoning attack on national unity, and on the other hand presents itself in the role of guardian of this unity and builder of a harmonious community.

Among most of the West and South Slavs, as we have mentioned, there was during the past century no such organized Slavic power which could intervene for its own purposes in the development of the literary languages. Such intervention could come only from a foreign government, motivated by political contingencies. Since most of the Slavic groups in this area were only starting to develop into modern nations it was not yet clear which path this development should take, nor was the selection of a literary language definitely resolved. Both questions had several answers, and within these nations themselves there were movements towards a variety of solutions.

Thus, among the South Slavs, a markedly convergent tendency led in the first half of the past century to the Illyrian movement. The Illyrians considered that there was only one South Slavic nation and that it was necessary to create for it a unified literary language. A major result of this insistence was the creation of a unified literary language for the Serbs and Croats, however with two variants. Illyricism had little effect among the Slovenes, although it had as one of its representatives Stanko Vraz, whereas among the Bulgarians and Macedonians it found only indirect echoes. In the middle of the past century, as we know, the

re was a tendency towards the creation of a single common Bulgaro-Macedonian literary language, supported by a number of eminent men of culture. As we can see, this tendency was part of a wider context of national cultural development in the South Slavic area, and had the distinguishing features of such.

Among the West Slavs, in the first half of the past century, in present Szechoslovakia, a Slovak language made its first appearance alongside the Czech literary language. But for a long time even the Slovaks themselves would have trouble agreeing on the question of this language. Thus Ján Kollár and Pavel Jozef Šafářík, the most prominent cultural and literary men of the times in Slovakia, supported the view that a single unified literary language be created for the Czechs and Slovaks. However, further developments went against this and led to the affirmation of an independent Slovak literary language.

Until now we have spoken of divergent tendencies in the development of the Slavic literary languages, considering the relations between the various Slavic nations. But such tendencies can be found within the history of a single nation. A particularly good example of this is the language situation in Slovenia during the first decades of the past century. At one point there were three variants of the literary language. First of all we have the basic variant, which is founded upon the language of writers during the Reformation and is based on dialects of Dolenjsko with features of the dialects of Gorenjsko. On the other hand, František Metelko attempts in his well-known grammar (*Lehrgebäude der slowenischen Sprache*, 1825), to narrow the basis to a limited area of Dolenjsko. Still more divergent is the viewpoint of Peter Dajnko, author of a grammar (*Lehrbuch der windischen Sprache*, 1824) based on the dialect of Styria, who considered that Slovenes should write in three literary languages: those of Krain, Carinthia and east Styria.

His viewpoint had some effect among his countrymen. (In 1834 there were already about 50,000 copies of books written in the variant suggested by Dajnko.) In addition to all these tendencies we have the insistence of certain men such as Stanko Vraz, Urban Jarník and Matija Majar that the Illirian program should be carried out. Despite all this disagreement, the modern literary language was essentially formed by the 1850's. Regional variation and still insufficient national unity were in this case cause for such differences in opinion on the selection of a literary language. Another reason for the existence of variants of the literary language, based on various dialects, could be that a nation was divided between two or more states. Thus in those parts that were not permitted to communicate freely there might appear rather significant differences in the form of the developing language. This was the case with the Ukrainian literary language, which developed in one variant in tsarist Russia, with Kiev as a cultural center, and in another in Galicia (Austro-Hungary), with L'vov as a cultural center. In Galicia one group of intelligentsia, the Ruthenians, even expressed the opinion that the Galician Ukrainians were a separate nation and that their language was different from that of the eastern Ukraine. Political action may even ha-

ve as its goal to elicit divergent tendencies in the development of a literary language. Such an attempt was made, for example, during the years of the Informbiro campaign among Macedonian emigrants in the eastern lands, in that these emigrants were offered, instead of the literary language of SR Macedonia, a variant based supposedly on the dialects of Aegean Macedonia, but actually modelled on the Bulgarian literary language. However, this attempt found no support among the emigrants, who refused to accept anything other than a unified Macedonian literary language.

In the first decades of this century, with the breakup of the Turkish and Austro-Hungarian empires, and in general as a result of the First World War, new states were formed among the West and South Slavs, multinational ones – Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia. The dominant role played by certain nations in these states during the period of bourgeois rule was expressed in determined action of the state in a unitaristic spirit. Thus, despite all eventual differences in social situation and in degree of activity, there was created a situation analogous to that which had existed in Russia. This situation differs radically from that of the 19th century, when tendencies towards language unification appeared spontaneously among the unfree nations of the West and South Slavic groups.

In the 19th century most of the Slavic literary languages had not yet been formed and the directions of development were still being sought, in accordance with the characteristic phases of development of national awareness of the Slavic nations. By the 20th century the process of formation of the individual Slavic literary languages had been completed. In the 19th century people believed with romantic fervor in the possibility of a future which they thought promised a deeper brotherly solidarity among the Slavs than was possible in reality. Among them were people such as the Macedonian Grigor Prličev, who attempted to create a common Slavic literary language. Now, under these changed conditions, the autocratically oriented powers attempted, with the support of the state, to force the acceptance of their unitaristic conceptions. It is obvious that the difference between these two moments in the history of the Slavic nations is very great, and that there is a different significance to the two cases, even though at first glance they may appear identical. The fact that Ján Kollár was not in favor of the existence of an independent Slovak language can not be used as an argument against it, nor can Stanko Vraz's attitude towards the Slovenian language or Rajko Žinzifov's towards the Macedonian language be used as arguments against their existence as independent literary languages. However, the autocratic approach does just this, in complete disregard of history.

We find an analogy between the above discussion and the events of the national development of Macedonia, including the process of formation of its literary language. Still, since the Macedonian literary language was the last to be formed of all the Slavic literary languages, there are certain specific features involved, which should not be passed over without mention. Since the national question was basically solved in Yu-



goslavia, the Macedonian literary language assumed its functions more rapidly and with greater scope than was the case for some of the languages in the other multinational states. However, for the first time, in the development of the Slavic literary languages it has happened that a language, spoken in a state guaranteeing it full rights of free use, has been subjected to political and associated scholarly attacks on the part of neighbouring states. Of course this can not help but question on state integrity, and it represents a substantial obstacle in the path of development of international relations in the Balkans.

8. The development of the modern Slavic nations and of their literary languages leads to the question of the choice of a name for these nations and their languages. Considering the various regional traditions and the fact that during the middle ages only a few national names were widely used among the Slavs, the choice was a significant one in its effect on the process of differentiation of the Slavic nations.

We will now discuss a few cases which are especially characteristic in this respect. In the East Slavic group, the term *Rusin* (Russian) was used among the Ukrainians and White Russians almost up to the 19th century, and the term *ruskij* (Russian) among the Great Russians. The common name for the languages of all three nations was *ruskij* (Russian). During the past century, the development of the modern East Slavic nations led to an ever greater need for a differentiation of these terms. The term *ruskij* (now restricted to the usage of earlier *velikoruskij* or Great Russian) was joined by the new terms *ukrainskij* (Ukrainian) and *beloruskij* (White Russian), used for the languages as well as the nations.

The situation in Croatia and Slovenia also deserves our consideration. Croatian writers of the 18th century and earlier often called their language by terms such as *slovinski*, *slovenski*, *slavonski*, *slavinski* or *ilirski* (Illyrian) rather than *hrvatski* (Croatian). In addition we find regional terms, such as *bosanski* (Bosnian), *dubrovački* (Dubrovnik). Ivan Broz, discussing the situation at the beginning of the 19th century, tells us: „the Croatian language was called by most writers *hrvatski*, *slovenski*, *ilirski* and *srpski* (Serbian). These different names for one language were a direct cause for errors and confusion, trace of which has not yet been lost even today“ (*Crtice iz hrvatske kniževnosti* (Sketches of Croatian Literature), Zagreb, 1886, p. 162). In the first half of the 19th century, in connection with the Illyrian movement, the term *ilirski* became popular for the name of the language. A long time passed before the term *hrvatski* came to be used as the common name for the Croatian language. Meanwhile, *ilirski*, being regionally unmarked, was a suitable term for referring to the literary language which was being formed at the time and which, as we know, was conceived as a common South Slavic literary language.

Until the 19th century the Slovenes also had no general name for their nation and language. The best known of the regional terms was *kranjski* (referring to the region known in German as Krain). Even in the second half of the 18th century there was still often a distinction

drawn between the *kranjski* language and the *vindska* (Windish or Wendish) language (used in Carinthia and Styria). In 1779 Blaž Kumerdej addressed the Slovene philologists: „... the pleasant moment has come when there is no reason for us to be ashamed if we speak *kranjski*. All sorts of effort are being made this hidden language might emerge from darkness into light“. E. Kardelj tells us: „Kumerdej, at least in the beginning, kept rather closely to the terms *Kranjci* (for the people) and *kranjski*. Jernej Kopitar was a freer spirit who came to the conclusion that the Slovene literary language must be unified. He was joined in this reasoning only by Gutsman from Carinthia. Therefore Kopitar's grammar of 1809, which rose above regional prejudices, is an epochal work in the process of national arousal“ (op. cit., p. 224). Oswald Gutsman, in his dictionary of 1789, tells us that *kranjski* and *vindska* „are shoots of the common Slavic language.“ Valentin Vodnik uses the term *kranjski* for the local language, and *slovenski* for the language of all Slavs. The grammar of Jernej Kopitar, written in German, appeared under the title: *Grammatik der slavischen Sprache in Krain, Kärnten und Steyermark*. Only by the end of the 18th and beginning of the 19th century is there ever greater use of the term *slovenski*, which, as we have seen, was more common in Croatian literary activity. Again a regionally unmarked term was given preference for use in referring to a national and linguistic community, still in the process of formation.

We have dealt with two typical cases of the selection of names in the history of the Slavic nations. Among the East Slaves a need arose for three terms to replace one general term, in order to reflect more closely historical reality. Among the Croats and Slovenes, on the contrary, there was a need for a single name to replace the earlier regional names.

In the case of the Macedonian national name and the name for the Macedonian language, use was made of a regional name with a long tradition, the scope of which changed with time. Within the Turkish empire non-Slavic neighbours usually called the Slavic population Bulgarians and their language Bulgarian (with the exception of the Albanians, who used the term *Shqê* meaning Slavs). This terminology took no account of the differences between the Slavic nations. Thus in the 17th century Evli Çelebi speaks of Bulgarians even in Belgrade and Sarajevo. This name was used to some extent among the Macedonians as well, along with other general or regional terms. It is another matter to how great an extent the term was used and with what significance. One might realize here that within Bulgaria itself during the Turkish period the name Bulgarian had disappeared in several areas. The phrase „simple Bulgarian language (of to lower Myzia)“ is found in several of the Macedonian so-called „Damascene“ writings, as well as in the writings of Krčovski and Pejčinović.

Those Macedonian cultural and literary men of the past century who were in favor of a common literary language for the Macedonians and Bulgarians imparted to the term a new significance, motivated by their national inclinations. Meanwhile, at the same time the term Mace-

donian was coming into use and served to express the conception of a separate nation and language.

From what we have said, it is evident that the Macedonian case was not an isolated one as concerns the selection of names, but rather a normal phenomena in the development of the modern Slavic nations and their literary languages. On the other hand, it would be hasty to conclude that the 19th century was a period of differentiation of something which had previously been unified and that this process was reflected in the differentiation of names. Actually unity is much greater during this period, despite all the national differentiation, than it was at any period in the past, under any so-called national unity. The process of formation of the modern nations which put an end to regional isolation, has gone as far as it could go and no further, not because there was an intentional effort towards fractionization, but because differentiation in the past did not allow for the creation of real conditions for still greater integration.

9. We have seen that the new Slavic languages had to overcome great obstacles and great resistance during their development. They were not greeted with immediate welcome, but accepted gradually, often after lengthy struggles against political and cultural challenges. All this is well known also in the history of the Macedonian literary language over the past hundred and fifty years. In order to not spend too much time here in giving a detailed discussion of the difficulties encountered by the individual Slavic languages during the course of their struggle for acceptance, and on the other hand in order to draw at least one parallel between their case and that of Macedonian, we will discuss the main phases in the creation of the literary language of another small Slavic nation, the Slovak nation.

After the short Great Moravian period (in the second half of the 9th century), a period of the activity of Cyril and Methodius and their disciples in the area of present-day Slovakia, the Slovaks remained for the rest of the Middle Ages without statehood or their own written language. They fell under the Hungarian rule, and were deprived of any possibility for creating their own literary tradition. The Slovaks used the Latin and the Hungarian languages, and from the 15th to the 19th century the Czech language, for writing purposes.

In the second half of the 18th century and even more in the 19th century a movement arose towards the creation of a Slovak literary language, which should replace the Czech language, despite the fact that the latter language was quite similar to the former and had been long used among the Slovaks. Specific historical conditions led to the formation of two nations, the Czech and the Slovak, and this reality was directly reflected in the linguistic situation.

The attempt of Anton Bernolák, at the end of the 18th century, to create a standard Slovak literary language based upon west Slovak dialects was premature and had no great effect. However the generation of L'udovít Štrú, of the thirties and forties of the 19th century, succeeded in establishing a new literary language based on the central Slovak dialects.

In the ranks of the Slovak intelligentsia of this period we do not find a unified opinion on the question of the literary language. Even the most prominent Slovak men of culture, Ján Kollár and Pavel Jozef Šafárik, as we mentioned already, were in favor of a common literary language for the Czechs and the Slovaks, in practice this being the Czech language with certain Slovak elements. Štúr himself and his followers wrote in the Czech language at first, until 1844, when they began a determined movement for the formation of a Slovak literary language. An important role in the process of formation of this language was played by the grammar of Martin Hattala (1850). But it is curious that even the author of this book was not sure of the necessity for linguistic division, and, as he tells us himself, „few reasons, and more political events” caused him to take up the support of the Slovak language. The historical process sought a different solution, and made use of the above-mentioned grammar, but its true tendencies were not yet clear, and people could contradict themselves. Defeat in the revolution of 1848 led to a decline in the movement towards an independent Slovak literary language. With the support of even Ján Kollár, who in 1849 became professor of Slavic history at the University of Vienna, governmental act proscribed the Czech language as a language of instruction in Slovak schools. It even seemed that the work of L'udovit Štúr would disappear without trace and that the Czech language would again become the literary language of the Slovaks.

But this was only a temporary lack of success. Further development of the Slovak nation in the 19th century led to an ever stronger movement towards a separate Slovak literary language, and this movement won out definitively. However, much time had yet to pass, even despite such a result of the historical process, before the Slovak language would be granted by Slavistics all the rights of an independent language. Even in 1886, almost half a century after Štúr's efforts, the eminent Croatian Slavicist Ivan Broz wrote the following statement about the Slavists view of the Slovak language: „All scholars are agreed in teaching us that Slovak is not a separate language, divided from Czech, but only a separate dialect of the single Czech language.”

This statement sounds completely anachronous today. The Slovak language has been fully affirmed and Slavistics treats it as a separate language, as if there had never been any doubt of its status. However, even in the First Chechoslovak republik the official stand was that there was one Czechoslovak language in two variants, Czech and Slovak. This is a phase which has been passed in the process of affirmation of Slovak as a separate language of the Slovak nation.

The parallel which can be drawn between the development of the Slovak and that of the Macedonian language shows that the latter situation was not so much more complicated than the former. In the latter case the Slavic literary tradition was never interrupted. There was no such developed prestige language in Macedonia during the period of national uprising as was the Czech language in Slovakia. The contemporary literary languages of the neighbouring Slavic nations, the Serbs and

Bulgarians, were themselves in process of formation during the 19th century and consequently did not themselves yet have very high prestige even among their own native speakers. Of course, other historical circumstances hindered development, but we will not go into any more detail here, since our main purpose was not to show that obstacles are always placed in the path of development of a new literary language, but that these obstacles are removed as a result of efficacious cultural and political action on the part of the nation which speaks and writes this language.

10. Even when a new literary language is acknowledged there is still much to be done in order that its speakers might be granted the historical right to linguistic independence. The first reason for this is the political interest of powers which can not easily reconcile themselves with the independent development of the given nation. This political interest may raise its entire scholarly apparatus in defense of its positions, but it is clear that such action has little basis in scholarly interest.

Actually the acknowledgement of full linguistic independence is only one aspect of a broader question of the acknowledgement of the historical rights of a new nation. This question was important in the past as well, and is all the more so today, when entire continents are shaken by the process of affirmation of new nations. We meet with it, of course, in the differentiation of the Slavic nations. The problem is that there are nations whose historical rights are not disputed and on the other hand nations whose rights are disputed.

The former have behind them a long continuity of undisturbed statehood or have revivified traditions of statehood of the Middle Ages. They bear national names which have in the past been affirmed to a greater or lesser extent through stateforming activity. One would say that this is the ideal model for a nation, according to which it is defined most fully. However, as can be seen from the development of the modern world, the number of nations which do not fit this model is becoming increasingly greater, so that they are in the majority. It is evident that the number of glorious national names in the past is far smaller than the actual number of divisions. Today, when those nations which until recently did not even have their own literary tradition and whose history consists only of oral tradition, are becoming ever greater factors in history, the question of historical rights must be viewed in a different light than was done earlier. This question does not concern only small nations, existing somewhere at the margin of European history, but appears on a world scale as a question of complete affirmation of young national units.

The problem can be solved only if these nations are accorded all historical rights. A national group which has shown sufficient strength to form a modern nation, can not be deprived of its history, or, by a generosity necessary to no-one, have its history limited to the past twenty, fifty or one hundred years, only because this national group can not supply as proof of its past material labeled with a national name.

Perhaps, for example, it is difficult for some people to speak of the history of the Macedonian nation, when it is known that the use of the term Macedonian itself, in its present meaning, does not predate the 19th century. But in speaking of the history of the Macedonian nation we do not intend to prove that this name was used as a national label in who knows how distant a past. What we wish to show is that on this territory, inhabited by one ethnic group, regardless of which names were used at various periods by this group, there was carried out over the course of centuries a creative activity extending over the most varied areas of life, and that this activity, by no means accidentally, led to the formation of a separate national unit. We are speaking in this sense of the history of the Macedonian nation, fully conscious of the conditionality of the term when this is projected into the past. But such conditionality is present when we project into the past not only national names whose validity is under dispute, but, to a great extent, also names affirmed over a long period of historical continuity. Namely, it can be proved quite easily that even these names can not quite adequately cover all periods in the history of these nations, or frequently even their present area. They are a type of abbreviation which for the historian should not lose the property of conditionality which they contain to a greater or lesser extent. On the other hand, historical science can not deny to one nation that which it grants to others as something self-evident. Very instructive as an example of this are the cases, discussed earlier, of the choice of names for national languages.

An obvious historical fact can not be negated by clever arguments. Therefore those forces which oppose the process of national emancipation of a people, as soon as they are certain that they have no chance to stop this process, will retreat to a new line of battle. They will deny to this nation its past, claim for themselves the right to this past, and they breathe more freely afterwards, because past reality is not so self-evident. Such discussions may pose as scholarly. They hope that the historical rights will come to light again one day. We have here almost the behavior of a landowner who has been affected by agrarian reforms, and who, although the land has been given to people who worked it for generations and have turned over every clod of it in their hands, still retains his ownership papers in the hope that at a suitable moment he will be able to prove that the right to the land is his, not theirs.

What is usually done in such cases, with the support of scholarly argumentation, is the following. The appearance of a new national unit with a new literary language is acknowledged with heavy heart as an already accomplished fact, but the nation and its language are denied all rights to a separate history. This is considered a case of the secession from a national unit and the interpreter of its history is the „mother” nation, and not that part which „seceded” from the whole. We can follow the application of such a tactic in several cases during the development of the modern Slavic nations, as in the case of Slovak, as well as in the Macedonian situation, where the viewpoint towards Macedonian natio-

nal and linguistic development has already been expressed quite a few times by the Bulgarian sociopolitical and scholarly public.

According to such a conception, an independent linguistic development, the result of particular political circumstances, is acknowledged only for the most recent times, considered by some to include no more than the period after the Second World War. It seems however that Bulgarian linguistics can not outgrow its old habits of treating Macedonian as a vernacular language, since we find even in recent dialect dictionaries and studies a wealth of material from the Macedonian dialects. In addition there is no concern for the fact that this is no longer the custom in mutual relations between the Slavic nations, although it is always possible to postulate with greater or lesser right communities of this sort. There is a similar reaction against the idea that the Macedonian nation might have the right to a separate treatment of its history. If one conceives reality in this manner, it would seem that the only right remaining to the Macedonian people is the use of a separate literary language, which is viewed as being without a popular basis, as something which appeared independently of one. We have cases of overcompensation, in that material from a language is treated as if there did not exist a national unit which speaks this language and as if this nation had little right to seek different treatment. This is the case not only within the field of linguistics, but also in other historical disciplines.

No-one complains when, for instance, the Slovaks include in their literary history Ján Kollár and Pavel Jozef Šafářík, although they supported the Czechoslovak cause and were not in favor of the creation of a separate Slovak language. So how can those men to whom the entire Slavic world owes its due be excluded from the history of the nation which bore them? It seems however, that this is still being denied in the case of the Miladinov brothers and other 19th century Macedonians, and their opinions are viewed from an angle which would seem to argue against an independent Macedonian development. When we consider the two cases above it is at least comforting to know that such errors may sometimes cease to be perpetrated.

A conception such as the one discussed above can not withstand scholarly criticism. It is *a priori* opposed to the completely logical statement that a historical phenomenon must have its own history. Both a nation and a language have the right to their history. Only such a principle is healthy and is sufficiently broad so as to include in such a history not only that which is specific to the given nation but also that which it has in common with other nations, even to the point of considering whether there was such a community and of what size. This principle prevents oversimplifications of history and the projection into the historical perspective of completely obvious prejudices, created under the influence of a national romantic spirit.

Of course we must speak here of communities because the South Slavic nations were always closely bound to each other and at various periods belonged to the same state units. But this certainly does not me-

an that we agree with exalted statements such as the following: „We may say that the Ohrid cultural and literary tradition pulses as one of the most lively arteries in the organism of the Bulgarian nation, in its historical fate...“ „In the lands in which it is most developed it supports the Bulgarian consciousness not only under the conditions of the worst Turkish enslavement but in recent times also under the conditions of foreign attempts at the transformation of the local population.“ When the situation is presented in such an elevated manner we must devote even greater effort to an attempt to explain the facts as they really are, i. e. how was it possible to „transform“ the „local population“ into a separate nation.

It is not difficult, as we have said, to find other relevant examples of such controversy in the development of the modern Slavic nations. With the course of time everything has been solved in favor of those nations which had been denied their historical rights. We have spent more time on the Macedonian example because it allows us to contribute to a question which is not only Macedonian but has worldwide implications. Acting in such a manner, we were able to show that a young nation feels a painful pressure when it is denied its historical rights and that such a feeling is also a very important factor in buildup of tension between nations of the world. This is often not understood even against the background of a progressive movement. Since the interests of the nations cross in many ways, the full affirmation of a small nation in this respect is not an easy process and is attained gradually, not with petty bargaining with those who pretend to hold the key to their past but with constructive and culturally creative activity in all fields. Macedonian national affirmation is proceeding along the latter path. It is not the aimless groping of a nation which was late to develop, but rather part of a world process of elimination of tyranny in the field of the historical rights of a nation. No-one chooses into which nation he will be born. Everyone is part of a historical context. Progressive people, those who wish to put consciousness into the historical process, seek to affirm certain principles which operate outside of strict national boundaries and which contribute to the freer development of man. Every nation has the right to object to ambushes in its past, even if that past consists only of the rewards and glory earned by those simple people who have plowed and planted the soil throughout the world.

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